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WASHINGTON, D. C.

From Dickens's Household Words.

THE PERILS OF CERTAIN ENGLISH PRISONERS, AND THEIR TREASURE IN WOMEN, CHILDREN, SILVER, & JEWELS.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER III.

The Rafts on the River.

We contrived to keep afloat all the night, and, the stream running strong with us, to glide a long way down the river. But we found the night to be a dangerous time for such navigation, on account of the eddies and rapids, and it was therefore settled next day that in future we would bring-to at sunset, and encamp on the shore. As we knew of no boats that the Pirates possessed, up at the Prison in the Woods, we settled always to encamp on the opposite side of the stream, so as to have the breadth of the river between our sleep and them. Our opinion was, that if they were acquainted with any near way by land to the mouth of this river, they would come up it in force, and re-take us or kill us, according as they could; but that if that was not the case, and if the river ran by none of their secret stations, we might escape.

When I say we settled this or that, I do not mean that we planned anything with any confidence as to what might happen an hour hence. So much had happened in one night, and such great changes had been violently and suddenly made in the fortunes of many among us, that we had got better used to uncertainty, in a little while, than I dare say most people do in the course of their lives.

The difficulties we soon got into, through the off-settings and point-currents of the stream, made the likelihood of our being drowned, alone—to say nothing of our being retaken—as broad and plain as the sun at noon-day to all of us. But, we all worked hard at managing the rafts, under the direction of the seamen, (of our own skill, I think we never could have prevented them from oversetting,) and we also worked hard at making good the defects in their first hasty construction—which the water soon found out. While we humbly resigned ourselves to going down, if it was the will of Our Father that was in Heaven, we humbly made up our minds that we would all do the best that was in us.

And so we held on, gliding with the stream. It drove us to this bank, and it drove us to that bank, and it turned us, and whirled us; but yet it carried us on—sometimes much too slowly, sometimes much too fast, but yet it carried us on.

My little deaf and dumb boy slumbered a good deal now, and that was the case with all the children. They caused very little trouble to any one. They seemed, in my eyes, to get more like one another, not only in quiet manner, but in the face, too. The motion of the raft was usually so much the same, the scene was usually so much the same, the sound of the soft wash and ripple of the water was usually so much the same, that they were made drowsy, as they might have been by the constant playing of one tune. Even on the grown people, who worked hard and felt anxiety, the same things produced something of the same effect. Every day was so like the other, that I soon lost count of the days myself, and had to ask Miss Maryon, for instance, whether this was the third or fourth? Miss Maryon had a pocket-book and pencil, and she kept the log; that is to say, she entered up a clear little journal of the time, and of the distances our seamen thought we had made, each night

So, as I say, we kept afloat and glided on. All day long, and every day, the water, and the woods, and sky; all day long, and every day, the constant watching of both sides of the river, and far ahead at every bold turn and sweep it made, for any signs of Pirate-boats, or Pirate-dwellings. So, as I say, we kept afloat and glided on—the days melting themselves together to that degree, that I could hardly believe my ears when I asked "How many, now, Miss?" and she answered, "Seven."

To be sure, poor Mr. Pordage had, by about now, got his Diplomatic coat into such a state as never was seen. What with the mud of the river, what with the water of the river, what with the sun, and the dews, and the tearing boughs, and the thickets, it hung about him in discolored shreds like a mop. The sun had touched him a bit. He had taken to always polishing one particular button, which just held on to his left wrist, and to always calling for stationery. I suppose that man called for pens, ink, and paper, tape, and sealing-wax, upwards of one thousand times in four-and-twenty hours. He had an idea that we should never get out of that river, unless we were written out of it in a formal Memorandum; and the more we labored at navigating the rafts, the more he ordered us not to touch them at our peril, and the more he sat and roared for stationery.

Mrs. Pordage, similarly, persisted in wearing her night-cap. I doubt if any one but ourselves who had seen the progress of that article of dress, could by this time have told what it was meant for. It had got so limp and ragged that she couldn't see out of her eyes for it. It was so dirty, that whether it was vegetable matter out of a swamp, or weeds out of the river, or an old porter's knot from England, I don't think any new spectator could have said. Yet this unfortunate old woman had a notion that it was not only vastly genteel, but that it was the correct thing as to propriety. And she really did carry herself over the other ladies who had no night-caps, and who were forced to tie up their hair how they could, in a superior manner that was perfectly amazing.

I don't know what she looked like, sitting in that blessed night-cap, on a log of wood, outside the hut or cabin upon our raft. She would have rather resembled a fortune teller in one of the picture-books that used to be in the shop windows in my boyhood, except for her stateliness. But, Lord bless my heart, the dignity with which she sat and moped, with her head in that bundle of tatters, was like nothing else in the world! She was not on speaking terms with more than three of the ladies. Some of them had, what she called, "taken precedence" of her—in getting into, or out of, that miserable little shelter!—and others had not called to pay their respects, or something of that kind. So, there she sat, in her own state and ceremony, while her husband sat on the same log of wood, ordering us one and all to let the raft go to the bottom, and to bring him stationery.

What with this noise on the part of Mr. Commissioner Pordage, and what with the cries of Sergeant Drooce on the raft astern, (which were sometimes more than Tom Packer could silence,) we often made our slow way down the river anything but quietly. Yet, that it was of great importance that no ears should be able to hear us from the woods on the banks, could not be doubted. We were looked for, to a certainty, and we might be retaken at any moment. It was an anxious time; it was, indeed, indeed, an anxious time.

On the seventh night of our voyage on the rafts, we made fast, as usual, on the opposite side of the river to that from which we had started, in as dark a place as we could pick out. Our little encampment was soon made, and supper was eaten, and the children fell asleep. The watch was set, and everything made orderly for the night. Such a starlight night, with such blue in the sky, and such black in the places of heavy shade on the banks of the great stream!

Those two ladies, Miss Maryon and Mrs Fisher, had always kept near me since the night of the attack. Mr. Fisher, who was untiring in the work of our raft, had said to me:

"My dear little childless wife has grown so attached to you, Davis, and you are such a gentle fellow, as well as such a determined one," our party had adopted that last expression from the one-eyed English pirate, and I repeat what Mr. Fisher said, only because he said it; "that it takes a load off my mind to leave her in your charge."

I said to him, "Your lady is in far better charge than mine, sir, having Miss Maryon to take care of her; but you may rely upon it, that I will guard them both—faithful and true."

Says he, "I do rely upon it, Davis, and I heartily wish all the silver on our old Island was yours."

That seventh starlight night, as I have said, we made our camp, and got supper, and set our watch, and the children fell asleep. It was solemn and beautiful, in those wild and solitary parts, to see them, every night before they lay down, kneeling under the bright sky, saying their little prayers at women's laps. At that time we men all uncovered, and mostly kept at a distance. When the innocent creatures rose up, we murmured "Amen!" all together. For, though we had not heard what they said, we knew it must be good for us.

At that time, too, as was only natural, those poor mothers in our company, whose children had been killed, shed many tears. I thought the sight seemed to console them while it made them cry; but, whether I was right or wrong in that, they wept very much. On this seventh night, Mrs. Fisher had cried for her lost darling until she cried herself asleep. She was lying on a little couch of leaves and such-like, (I made the best little couch I could for them every night,) and Miss Maryon had covered her, and sat by her, holding her hand. The stars looked down upon them. As for me, I guarded them,

"Davis!" says Miss Maryon. (I am not going to say what a voice she had. I couldn't if I tried)

"I am here, Miss."

"The river sounds as if it were swollen to-night."

"We all think, Miss, that we are coming near the sea."

"Do you believe, now, we shall escape?"

"I do now, Miss, really believe it." I had always said I did; but I had in my own mind been doubtful."

"How glad you will be, my good Davis, to see England again!"

I have another confession to make, that will appear singular. When she said these words, something rose in my throat; and the stars I looked away at, seemed to break into sparkles that fell down my face and burnt it.

"England is not much to me, Miss, except as a name."

"Oh! So true an Englishman should not say that! Are you not well to-night, Davis?" Very kindly, and with a quick change.

"Quite well, Miss."

"Are you sure? Your voice sounds altered in my hearing."

"No, Miss, I am a stronger man than ever. But, England is nothing to me."

Miss Maryon sat silent for so long a while, that I believed she had done speaking to me for one time. However, she had not; for by and by she said, in a distinct, clear tone:

"No, good friend; you must not say that England is nothing to you. It is to be much to you yet—everything to you. You have to take back to England the good name you have earned here, and the gratitude and attachment and respect you have won here; and you have to make some good English girl very happy and proud, by marrying her; and I shall one day see her, I hope, and make her happier and prouder still, by telling her what noble services her husband's were in South America, and what a noble friend he was to me there."

Though she spoke these kind words in a cheering manner, she spoke them compassionately. I said nothing. It will appear to be another strange confession, that I paced to and fro, within call, all that night, a most unhappy man, reproaching myself all the night long. "You are as ignorant as any man alive; you are as obscure as any man alive; you are as poor as any man alive; you are no better than the mud under your foot." That was the way in which I went on against myself until the morning.

With the day, came the day's labor. What I should have done without the labor, I don't know. We were afloat again at the usual hour, and were again making our way down the river. It was broader and clearer of obstructions than it had been, and it seemed to flow faster. This was one of Drooce's quiet days; Mr. Pordage, besides being sulky, had almost lost his voice; and we made good way, and with little noise.

There was always a seaman forward on the raft, keeping a bright look-out. Suddenly, in the full heat of the day, when the children were slumbering, and the trees and reeds appeared to be slumbering, this man—it was Short—holds up his hand, and cries, with great caution, "Avast! Voices ahead!"

We held on against the stream as soon as we could bring her up, and the other raft followed suit. At first, Mr. Macey, Mr. Fisher, and myself, could hear nothing; though both the seamen aboard of us agreed that they could hear voices and oars. After a little pause, however, we united in thinking that we *could* hear the sound of voices and the dip of oars. But, you can hear a long way in those countries, and there was a bend of the river before us, and nothing was to be seen except such waters and such banks as we were now in the eighth day (and might, for the matter of our feelings, have been in the eightieth,) of having seen with anxious eyes.

It was soon decided to put a man ashore who should creep though the wood, see what was coming, and warn the rafts—the rafts in the mean time to keep the middle of the stream. The man to be put ashore, and not to swim ashore, as the first thing could be more quickly done than the second. The raft conveying him, to get back into mid-stream, and to hold on along with the other, as well as it could, until signalled by the man. In case of danger, the man to shift for himself until it should be safe to take him aboard again. I volunteered to be the man.

We knew that voices and oars must come up slowly against the stream; and our seamen knew, by the set of the stream, under which bank they would come. I was put ashore accordingly. The raft got off well, and I broke into the wood.

Steaming hot it was, and a tearing place to get through. So much the better for me, since it was something to contend against and do. I cut off the bend in the river, at a great saving of space, came to the water's edge again, and hid myself, and waited. I could now hear the dip of the oars very distinctly; the voices had ceased.

The sound came on in a regular tune, and as I lay hidden, I fancied the tune so played to be, "Chris'en—George—King! Chris'en—George—King! Chris'en—George—King!" over and over again, always the same, with the pauses always at the same places. I had likewise time to make up my mind that if these were the Pirates, I could and would (barring my being shot) swim off to my raft, in spite of my wound, the moment I had given the alarm, and hold my old post by Miss Maryon.

"Chris'en — George — King! Chris'en — George—King! Chris'en—George—King!" coming up, now very near.

I took a look at the branches about me, to see where a shower of bullets would be most likely to do me least hurt; and I took a look back at the track I had made in forcing my way in; and now I was wholly prepared and fully ready for them.

"Chris'en — George — King! Chris'en — George—King! Chris'en—George—King!" Here they were!

Who were they? The barbarous Pirates, scum of all nations, headed by such men as the hideous little Portuguese monkey, and the one-eyed English convict with the gash across his face, that ought to have gashed his wicked head off? The worst men in the world picked out from the worst, to do the cruellest and most atrocious deeds that ever stained it? The howling, murdering, black flag waving—mad, and drunken crowd of devils, that had overcome us by numbers and by treachery? No. These were English men in English boats—good blue-jackets and red-coats—marines that I knew myself, and sailors that knew our seamen! At the helm of the first boat, Captain Carton, eager and steady. At the helm of the second boat, Captain Maryon, brave and bold. At the helm of the third boat, an old seaman, with determination carved into his watchful face, like the figure-head of a ship. Every man doubly and trebly armed from head to foot. Every man lying-to at his work, with a will that had all his heart and soul in it. Every man looking out for any trace of friend or enemy, and burning to be the first to do good, or avenge evil. Every man with his face on fire when he saw me, his countryman who had been taken prisoner, and hailed me with a cheer, as Captain Carton's boat ran in and took me on board.

I reported, "All escaped, sir! All well, all safe, all here!"

God bless me—and God bless them—what a cheer! It turned me weak, as I was passed on from hand to hand to the stern of the boat; every hand patting me or grasping me in some way or other, in the moment of my going by.

"Hold up, my brave fellow," said Captain Carton, clapping me on the shoulder like a friend, and giving me a flask. "Put your lips to that, and they will be red again. Now, boys, give way!"

The banks flew by us, as if the mightiest stream that ever ran was with us; and so it was, I am sure, meaning the stream of those men's ardor and spirit. The banks flew by us, and we came in sight of the rafts—the banks flew by us, and we came alongside of the rafts—the banks stopped; and there was a tumult of laughing and crying, and kissing and shaking of hands, and catching up of children and setting of them down again, and a wild hurry of thankfulness and joy, that melted every one, and softened all hearts.

I had taken notice, in Captain Carton's boat, that there was a curious and quite new sort of fitting on board. It was a kind of little bower made of flowers, and it was set up behind the captain, and betwixt him and the rudder. Not only was this arbor, so to call it, neatly made of flowers, but it was ornamented in a singular way. Some of the men had taken the ribbons and buckles off their hats, and hung them among the flowers; others had made festoons and streamers of their handkerchiefs, and hung them there; others had intermixed such trifles as bits of glass and shining fragments of lockets and tobacco-boxes, with the flowers; so that altogether it was a very bright and lively object in the sunshine. But why there, or what for, I did not understand.

Now, as soon as the first bewilderment was over, Captain Carton gave the order to land for the present. But this boat of his, with two hands left in her, immediately put off again, when the men were out of her, and kept off, some yards from the shore. As she floated there, with the two hands gently backing water to keep her from going down the stream, this pretty little arbor attracted many eyes. None of the boat's crew, however, had anything to say about it, except that it was the Captain's fancy.

The Captain, with the women and children clustering around him, and the men of all ranks grouped outside them, and all listening, stood, telling how the Expedition, deceived by its bad intelligence, had chased the light Pirate boats all that fatal night, and had still followed in their wake next day, and had never suspected until many hours too late that the great Pirate body had drawn off in the darkness when the chase began, and shot over to the Island. He stood telling how the Expedition, supposing the whole array of armed boats to be ahead of it, got tempted into shallows, and went aground; but not without having its revenge upon the two decoy-boats, both of which it had come up with, overland, and sent to the bottom with all on board. He stood telling how the Expedition, fearing then that the case stood as it did, got afloat again, by great exertion, after the loss of four more tides, and returned to the Island, where they found the sloop scuttled and the treasure gone. He stood telling how my officer, Lieutenant Linderwood, was left upon the Island, with as strong a force as could be got together hurriedly from the mainland, and how the three boats we saw before us were manned and armed, and had come away, exploring the coasts and inlets, in search of any tidings of us. He stood telling all this with his face to the river; and, as he stood telling it, the little arbor of flowers floated in the sunshine before all the faces there.

Leaning on Captain Carton's shoulder, between him and Miss Maryon, was Mrs. Fisher, her head drooping on her arm. She asked him, without raising it, when he had told so much, whether he had found her mother.

"Be comforted! She lies," said the Captain, gently, "under the cocoa nut trees on the beach."

"And my child, Captain Carton, did you find my child too? Does my darling rest with my mother?"

"No. Your pretty child sleeps," said the Captain, "under a shade of flowers."

His voice shook; but there was something in it that struck all the hearers. At that moment, there sprung from the arbor in his boat a little creature, clapping her hands, and stretching out her arms, and crying, "Dear papa! Dear mamma! I am not killed. I am saved. I am coming to kiss you. Take me to them, take me to them, good, kind sailors!"

Nobody who saw that scene has ever forgotten it, I am sure, or ever will forget it. The child had kept quite still, where her brave grandmamma had put her, (first whispering in her ear, "What everhappens to me, do not stir, my dear!") and had remained quiet until the fort was deserted; she had then crept out of the trench, and gone into her mother's house; and there, alone on the solitary island, in her mother's room, and asleep on her mother's bed, the Captain had found her. Nothing could induce her to be parted from him after he took her up in his arms and he had brought her away with him, and the men had made the bower for her. To see those men now, was a sight. The joy of the women was beautiful; the joy of those women, who had lost their own children, was quite sacred and divine; but the ecstasies of Captain Carton's boat's crew, when their pet was restored to her parents, were wonderful, for the tenderness they showed in the midst of roughness. As the Captain stood with the child in his arms, and the child's own little arms now clinging round his neck, now round her father's, now round her mother's, now round some one who pressed up to kiss her, the boat's crew shook hands with one another, waved their hats over their heads, laughed, sang, cried, danced—and all among themselves, without wanting to interfere with anybody—in a manner never to be represented. At last, I saw the coxswain and another, two very hard-faced men with grizzled heads, who had been the heartiest of the hearty all along, close with one another, get each of them the other's head under his arm, and pummel away at it with his fist as hard as he could, in his excess of joy.

When we had well rested and refreshed ourselves—and very glad we were to have some of the heartening things to eat and drink that had come up in the boats—we recommenced our voyage down the river: rafts, and boats, and all. I said to myself, it was a very different kind of voyage now, from what it had been; and I fell into my proper place and station among my fellow-soldiers.

But, when we halted for the night, I found that Miss Maryon had spoken to Captain Carton concerning me. For, the Captain came straight up to me, and says he, "My brave fellow, you have been Miss Maryon's body-guard all along, and you shall remain so. Nobody shall supersede you in the distinction and pleasure of protecting that young lady." I thanked his honor in the fittest words I could find, and that night I was placed on my old post of watching the place where she slept. More than once in the night, I saw Captain Carton come out into the air, and stroll about there, to see that all was well. I have now this other singular confession to make, that I saw him with a heavy heart. Yes; I saw him with a heavy, heavy heart.

In the day-time, I had the like post in Captain Carton's boat. I had a special station of my own, behind Miss Maryon, and no hands but hers ever touched my wound. (It has been healed these many long years; but, no other hands have ever touched it.) Mr. Pordage was kept tolerably quiet now, with pen and ink, and began to pick up his senses a little. Seated in the second boat, he made documents with Mr. Kitten, pretty well, all day; and he generally handed in a Protest about something whenever we stopped. The Captain, however, made so very light of these papers, that it grew into a saying among the men, when one of them wanted a match for his pipe, "Hand us over a Protest, Jack!" As to Mrs. Pordage, she still wore the nightcap, and she now had cut all the ladies, on account of her not having been formally and separately rescued by Captain Carton, before anybody else. The end of Mr. Pordage, to bring to an end all I know about him, was, that he got great compliments at home for his conduct on these trying occasions, and that he died of yellow jaundice, a Governor and a K. C. B.

Sergeant Drooce had fallen from a high fever into a low one; Tom Packer—the only man who could have pulled the Sergeant through it—kept hospital aboard the old raft; and Mrs. Belltott, as brisk as ever again, (but the spirit of that woman, when things tried it, was not equal to appearances,) was head-nurse under his directions. Before we got down to the Mosquito coast, the joke had been made by one of our men, that we should see her gazetted Mrs. Tom Packer, *vice* Belltott, exchanged.

When we reached the coast, we got native boats as substitutes for the rafts, and we rowed along under the land; and in that beautiful climate, and upon that beautiful water, the blooming days were like enchantment. Ah! They were running away faster than any sea or river, and there was no tide to bring them back. We were coming very near the settlement where the people of Silver-Store were to be left, and from which we Marines were under orders to return to Belize.

Captain Carton had, in the boat by him, a curious long-barrelled Spanish gun, and he had said to Miss Maryon one day that it was the best of guns, and had turned his head to me, and said:

"Gill Davis, load her fresh with a couple of slugs, against a chance of showing how good she is."

So, I had discharged the gun over the sea, and had loaded her, according to orders, and there it had lain at the Captain's feet, convenient to the Captain's hand.

The last day but one of our journey was an uncommonly hot day. We started very early; but, there was no cool air on the sea as the day got on, and by noon the heat was really hard to bear, considering that there were women and children to bear it. Now, we happened to open, just at that time, a very pleasant little cove or bay, where there was a deep shade from a great growth of trees. Now, the Captain, therefore, made the signal to the other boats to follow him in and lie by a while.

The men who were off duty went ashore, and lay down, but were ordered, for caution's sake, not to stray, and to keep within view. The others rested on their oars, and dozed. Awnings had been made of one thing and another, in all the boats, and the passengers found it cooler to be under them in the shade, when there was room enough, than to be in the thick woods. So, the passengers were all afloat, and mostly sleeping. I kept my post behind Miss Maryon, and she was on Captain Carton's right in the boat, and Mrs. Fisher sat on her right again. The Captain had Mrs. Fisher's daughter on his knee. He and the two ladies were talking about the Pirates, and were talking softly—partly, because people do talk softly under such indolent circumstances, and partly because the little girl had gone off asleep.

I think I have before given it out for my Lady to write down, that Captain Carton had a fine bright eye of his own. All at once, he darted me a side look, as much as to say, "Steady—don't take on—I see something!"—and gave the child into her mother's arms. That eye of his was so easy to understand, that I obeyed it by not so much as looking either to the right or to the left out of a corner of my own, or changing my attitude the least trifle. The Captain went on talking in the same mild and easy way; but began—with his arms resting across his knees, and his head a little hanging forward, as if the heat were rather too much for him—began to play with the Spanish gun.

"They had laid their plans, you see," says the Captain, taking up the Spanish gun across his knees, and looking lazily at the inlaying on the stock, "with a great deal of art; and the corrupt or blundering local authorities were so easily deceived;" he ran his left hand idly along the barrel, but I saw, with my breath held, that he covered the action of cocking the gun with his right—"so easily deceived, that they summoned us to come into the trap. But my intention as to future operations"—— In a flash, the Spanish gun was at his bright eye, and fired.

All started up; innumerable echoes repeated the sound of the discharge; a cloud of bright-colored birds flew out of the woods, screaming; a handfull of leaves were scattered where the shot had struck; a crackling of branches was heard; and some lithe but heavy creature sprang into the air, and fell forward, head down, over the muddy bank.

"What is it?" cries Captain Maryon, from his boat. All silent then, but the echoes rolling away.

"It is a traitor and a spy," said Capt. Carton, handing me the gun to load again. "And I think the other name of the animal is Christian George King!"

Shot through the heart. Some of the people ran round to the spot, and drew him out, with the slime and wet trickling down his face; but his face itself would never stir any more to the end of time.

"Leave him hanging to that tree," cried Captain Carton, his boat's crew giving way, and he leaping ashore. "But first into this wood, every man in his place. And boats! out of gunshot!"

It was a quick change, well meant and well made, though it ended in disappointment. No Pirates were there; no one but the spy was found. It was supposed that the Pirates, unable to retake us, and expecting a great attack upon them to be the consequence of our escape, had made from the ruins in the forest, taken to their ship along with the treasure, and left the spy to pick up what intelligence he could. In the evening we went away, and he was left hanging to the tree, all alone, with the red sun making a kind of a dead sunset on his black face.

Next day, we gained the settlement on the Mosquito coast, for which we were bound. Having stayed there to refresh, seven days, and having been much commended, and highly spoken of, and finely entertained, we Marines stood under orders to march from the town gate (it was neither much of a town nor much of a gate) at five in the morning.

My officer had joined us before then. When we turned out at the gate, all the people were there; in the front of them all those who had been our fellow-prisoners, and all the seamen.

"Davis," says Lieut. Linderwood, "stand out, my friend!"

I stood out from the ranks, and Miss Maryon and Captain Carton came up to me.

"Dear Davis," said Miss Maryon, while the tears fell fast down her face, "your grateful friends, in most unwillingly taking leave of you, ask the favor that, while you bear away with you their affectionate remembrance, which nothing can ever impair, you will also take this purse of money—far more valuable to you, we all know, for the deep attachment and thankfulness with which it is offered, than for its own contents, though we hope those may prove useful to you, too, in after life."

I got out, in answer, that I thankfully accepted the attachment and affection, but not the money. Captain Carton looked at me very attentively, and stepped back, and moved away. I made him my bow as he stepped back, to thank him for being so delicate.

"No, Miss," said I. "I think it would break my heart to accept of money. But, if you could condescend to give to a man so ignorant and common as myself, any little thing you have worn—such as a bit of ribbon"——

She took a ring from her finger, and put it in my hand. And she rested her hand in mine, while she said these words:

"The brave gentlemen of old—but not one of them was braver, or had a nobler nature than you—took such gifts from ladies, and did all their good actions for the givers' sakes. If you will do yours for mine, I shall think, with pride, that I continue to have some share in the life of a gallant and generous man."

For the second time in my life she kissed my hand. I made so bold, for the first time, as to kiss hers; and I tied the ring at my breast, and I fell back to my place.

Then, the horse-litter went out at the gate, with Sergeant Drooce in it; and the horse-litter went out at the gate with Mrs. Belltott in it; and Lieutenant Linderwood gave the word of command, "Quick march!" and cheered and cried, for we went out out of the gate, too, marching along the level plain towards the serene blue sky, as if we were marching straight to heaven.

When I have added here that the Pirate scheme was blown to shivers, by the Pirateship which had the Treasure on board being so vigorously attacked by one of His Majesty's cruisers, among the West India Keys, and being so swiftly boarded and carried, that nobody suspected anything about the scheme until three fourths of the Pirates were killed, and the other fourth were in irons, and the Treasure was recovered; I come to the last singular confession I have got to make.

It is this. I well knew what an immense and hopeless distance there was between me and Miss Maryon; I well knew that I was no fitter company for her that I was for the angels; I well knew that she was as high above my reach as the sky over my head; and yet I loved her. What put it in my low heart to be so daring, or whether such a thing ever happened before or since, as that a man so uninstructed and obscure as myself got his unhappy thoughts lifted up to such a height, while knowing very well how presumptuous and impossible to be realized they were, I am unable to say; still, the suffering to me was just as great as if I had been a gentleman. I suffered agony—agony. I suffered hard, and I suffered long. I thought of her last words to me, however, and I never disgraced them. If it had not been for those dear words, I think I should have lost myself in despair and recklessness.

The ring will be found lying on my heart, of course, and will be laid with me wherever I am laid. I am getting on in years now, though I am able and hearty. I was recommended for promotion, and everything was done to reward me that could be done; but, my total want of all learning stood in my way, and I found myself so completely out of the road to it, that I could not conquer any learning, though I tried. I was long in the service, and I respected it, and was respected in it, and the service is dear to me at this present hour.

At this present hour, when I give this out to my Lady to be written down, all my old pain has softened away, and I am as happy as a man can be, at this present fine old country-house of Admiral Sir George Carton, Baronet. It was my Lady Carton who herself sought me out, over a great many miles of the wide world, and found me in Hospital, wounded, and brought me here. It is my Lady Carton who writes down my words. My Lady was Miss Maryon. And now, that I conclude what I had to tell, I see my Lady's honored gray hair droop over her face, as she leans a little lower at her desk; and I fervently thank her for being so tender, as I see she is, towards the past pain and trouble of her poor, old, faithful, humble soldier.

THE BEAUREPAIRE OAK.

But first, ere the sun is set, stay a few minutes and look at the Beaurepaire oak, while I tell you the little men knew about it, not the thousandth part of what it could have told, if trees could speak as well as breathe.

The Baroness did not exaggerate. The tree was somewhat older than even this ancient family. There was a chain of family documents, several of which related incidents in which this tree played a part.

The oldest of these manuscripts was written by a monk, a younger son of the house, about five hundred years before our story. This would not have helped us much, but, luckily, the good monk was at the pains to collect all the oral traditions about it that had come down from a far more remote antiquity, and, like a sensible man, arrested and solidified them by the pen. He had a superstitious reverence for the tree; and probably this, too, came down to him from his ancestors, as it was certainly transmitted by him to the chroniclers that succeeded him.

The sum of all is this.

The first Baron of Beaurepaire had pitched his tent under a fair oak that stood *prope rivum*—near a brook. He afterwards built a square tower hard by, and dug a moat that enclosed both tree and tower, and received the waters of the brook aforesaid. These particulars corresponded too exactly with the present face of things and the intermediate accounts, to leave a doubt that this was the same tree.

In these early days, its size seems to have been nothing remarkable, and this proves it was still growing timber. But a century and a half before the monk wrote, it had become famous in all the district for its girth; and in the monk's own day had ceased to grow, but showed no sign of decay. The mutilated arm I have mentioned was once a long, sturdy bough, worn smooth as velvet in one part from a curious cause; it ran about as high above the ground as a full-sized horse, and the knights and squires used to be forever vaulting upon it, the former in armor; the monk, when a boy, had seen them do it a thousand times.

The heart of the tree began to go, and then this heavy bough creaked suspiciously. In those days, they did not prop a sacred bough with a line of iron posts, as now.

They solved the difficulty by cutting this one off within six feet of the trunk; two centuries later, the tree being now nearly hollow, a rude iron bracket was roughly nailed into the stem, and, running out three feet, supported the knight's bough; for so the mutilated limb was still called.

What had not this tree seen since first it came, green and tender as the cabbage, above the soil, and stood at the mercy of the first hare or rabbit that should choose to cut short forever its frail existence!

Since then, eagles had perched on its crown, and wild boars fed, without fear of man, upon its acorns. Troubadours had sung beneath it to lords and ladies seated around or walking on the grass, and commenting the minstrel's tales of love by exchange of amorous glances.

It had seen a Norman Duke conquer England, and English Kings invade France, and be crowned at Paris. It had seen a woman put Knights to the rout, and seen God insulted and the warrior virgin burned by envious priests, with the consent of the curs she had defended and the curs she had defeated.

Mediæval sculptors had taken its leaves, and, wisely trusting to nature, had adorned many a church with those leaves cut in stone.

Why, in its old age it had seen the rise of printing, and the first dawn of national civilization in Europe. It flourished and decayed in France, but it grew in Gaul. And more remarkable still, though by all accounts it is likely to see the world to an end, it was a tree in ancient history; its old age awaits the millennium; its first youth belonged to that great tract of time which includes the birth of Christ, the building of Rome, and the siege of Troy.

The tree had mingled in the fortunes of the family. It had saved their lives and taken their lives. One Lord of Beaurepaire, hotly pursued by his feudal enemies, made for the tree, and hid himself, partly by a great bough, partly by a thick screen of leaves. The foe darted in, made sure he had taken to the house, ransacked it, and got into the cellar, where, by good luck, was store of Malvoisie; and so the oak and the vine saved the quaking Baron.

Another Lord of Beaurepaire, besieged in his castle, was shot dead on the ramparts by a cross-bowman who had secreted himself unobserved in this tree a little before the dawn.

A young heir of Beaurepaire, climbing for a raven's nest to the top of this tree, whose crown was much loftier than now, lost his footing and fell, and died at the foot of the tree. And his mother, in her anguish, bade them cut down the tree that had killed her boy. But the Baron (her husband) refused, and said, what in the English of the day would run thus: "Ytte ys enough that I lose mine sonne—I will not alsoe lose mine Tre." In the male, the solid sentiment of the proprietor outweighed the temporary irritation of the parent. Then the mother, we are told, bought fifteen ells of black velvet, and stretched a pall from the knight's bough across the west side to another branch, and cursed the hand that should remove it, and she herself "wolde never pass the Tre, neither going or coming, but went still about."

And when she died, and should have been carried past the tree to the park, her doctor did cry from a window to the bearers, "Goe about! goe about!" and they went about, and all the company. And in time the velvet pall rotted, and was torn and driven away *rapidis ludibria ventis.* And when the hand of nature, and no human hand, had thus flouted and dispersed the trappings of the mother's grief, two pieces were picked up and preserved among the family relics; and the black velvet had turned a rusty red. So the Baroness did nothing new in this family, when she hung her chaplet on the knight's bough. And in fact, on the west side, about eighteen feet from the ground, there still mouldered one corner of an atchievement an heir of Beaurepaire had nailed there two centuries before, when his predecessor died. "For (said he) the chateau is of yesterday, but the tree has seen us all come and go." The inside of the tree was clean gone; it was hollow as a gum; not eight inches thick in any part; and on its east side yawned a fissure as high as a man and as broad as a street door. Dard used to wheel his wheelbarrow into the tree at a trot, and there leave it! In spite of excavation and mutilation, not life only, but vigor, dwelt in this wooden shell. The extreme ends of the longer boughs were firewood, touchwood, and the crown was gone, time out of mind. But narrow the circle a very little, to where the indomitable trunk could still shoot sap from its cruise deep in earth, in there on every side burst the green leaves in summer, countless as the sand. The leaves carved centuries ago from these very models, though cut in stone, were most of them mouldered, blunted, notched, deformed; but the delicate types came back with every summer, perfect and lovely as when the tree was their elder brother, and greener than ever. For (from what cause Nature only knows) the leaves were many shades deeper and richer than any other tree could show for a hundred miles round—a deep green, fiery, yet soft. And then their multitude—the staircases of foliage, as you looked up the tree, and could scarce catch a glimpse of the sky—an inverted abyss of color, a mound, a dome, of flake emeralds, that quivered in the golden air.

And now the sun sets; the green leaves are black; the moon rises; her cold light shoots across one-half that giant stem.

How solemn and calm stands the great round tower of living wood, half ebony, half silver, with its mighty cloud above of flake jet leaves, tinged with frosty fire at one edge!

Now is the still hour to repeat in a whisper the words of the dame of Beaurepaire—"You were here before us; you will be here when we are gone."

Let us leave the hoary king of trees standing in the moonlight, calmly defying time; and let us follow the creatures of a day, since what they were we are.—*Reade's "White Lies."*

TENNYSON.—Most of the American papers have lately been passing around a paragraph from "an English correspondent," asserting that the laureate is a confirmed victim to opium, together with other remarks of an obviously malevolent spirit upon his personal appearance, which is styled gross and sensual, of an "African" type, &c. As we had expected, the report is now emphatically contradicted. A correspondent of one of the daily journals writes of him: "He has never meddled at all with the deadly delight of Turks and China men." The same correspondent also refers to the poet's shyness of publicity and wood-cut engravers:

"He lives in a kind of mortal fear of the *Illustrated News,* and is to the very core of him a kinsman of those Elizabethan men who loved so to lock themselves up with their friends in sly and happy corners, where

All their great hearts sherris warmed,
They flashed their random speeches,
Before the tribe of Ana swarmed,
Those literary leeches!"

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON,

Of Massachusetts,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 3 AND 4, 1858.

The pending question being the motion to refer the President's message and the Lecompton Constitution to the Committee on Territories, Mr. WILSON moved to amend the motion by adding:

"And that the committee be instructed to ascertain the number of votes given at each county in the Territory upon the question of calling a Convention to form a Constitution; to inquire into the appointment of delegates to the Convention, and the census and registration under which the same was made, and whether the same was in compliance with law; the number of votes cast for each candidate for delegate to the Convention, and the places where cast, and whether said Constitution received the votes of a majority of the delegates to said Convention; the number of votes cast in said Territory on the 21st of December last, for and against said Constitution, and for and against any parts thereof, and the number so cast at each place of voting; the number of votes cast on the 4th day of January last for and against said Constitution, and the number so cast at each place of voting; the number of votes cast on the 4th day of January last for any State and legislative officers thereof, and the number of votes cast for each candidate for such offices, and the places where cast; and that said committee also ascertain, as nearly as possible, what portion, if any, of the votes so cast at any of the times and places aforesaid were fraudulent or illegal; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers."

Mr. WILSON. This application, Mr. President, for the admission of Kansas into this sisterhood of free Commonwealths, comes to us under circumstances that demand the prompt, thorough, and full investigation of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. Charges have been made by the people of Kansas, by Government officials in Kansas, of illegalities and frauds—illegalities and frauds which have deprived the people of that Territory of their rights, and defeated their will. These reports have gone over the country, over the Christian and civilized world, bringing dishonor and shame upon free democratic institutions. Under these circumstances, sir, I take it that every Senator, every member of Congress, every fair-minded and honorable man throughout the Republic, desires, before we vote to bring Kansas into the Union or to reject her application, that all the facts connected with the calling of the Convention to frame a Constitution, the election of delegates, the framing of the Constitution, the mode of submission to the people, the election under the Constitution, and all the questions concerning the rights and the interests of the people of the Territory, shall be fully investigated. To accomplish this object, which every honorable gentleman in America must desire, I have submitted the motion that the Committee on Territories be instructed to make this investigation, and that they have power to send for persons and papers.

I indulge the hope, Mr. President, that every Senator on this floor will promptly vote for these instructions, and that the Committee on Territories will make the most searching, thorough, and complete investigation into this whole subject; and if there be frauds, if there be wrongs, if there be anything in the action of that Territory which baffles the popular will, which robs the people of their rights, that the facts will be presented to the Senate and to the country, and that we shall be guided by the simple idea of ascertaining the real will of the people of the Territory of Kansas, and letting that will control our action.

Before I sit down, sir, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to some of the allusions, assumptions, and declarations, of the President, in this extraordinary communication to Congress. The President told us, in his annual message, that the attention of the country had been too much drawn to the Territory of Kansas. I regret, I think the country will regret, I think every man who cares anything for right or justice, who cares anything for the honor of the American name and the American character—aye, anything for the reputation of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic—will regret that the President himself had not devoted time enough to the consideration of the affairs of Kansas, to have enabled him to present to the Senate and the country a full, intelligent, accurate, and truthful statement of the events which have transpired in that Territory. I say here, sir, what I know to be true, what every intelligent man in the Senate knows to be true, what the country and the world know to be true, that the statements in this message misrepresent, wholly and entirely, the events which have transpired in that Territory; and that wherever this message goes, it will carry to the world a stupendous and gigantic misrepresentation of affairs in the Territory of Kansas.

I know, sir, that the President cannot be expected, in the midst of the vast duties that devolve upon him, to understand everything that has transpired in that Territory. He was out of the country when the act for the organization of Kansas was passed; he was out of the country during the eventful years of 1854 and 1855, and a portion of 1856—years in which events of great magnitude transpired in Kansas. He was nominated, we all know, sir, because he was out of the country, and had no connection with those events, because he was able to prove an *alibi.* But, sir, he sends to us, to men familiar with the events of the past four years, this message, covering this application for the admission of Kansas, and he gives a coloring to events in that Territory which will give to the country and to the world about as correct an idea of the affairs of that Territory as the bulletins of Napoleon gave to the people of France of the condition of the grand army on its retreat from Moscow.

The President tells us that there is a delusion in the country in regard to the condition of affairs in Kansas; that it is supposed there are two parties in that Territory, contending for the government of the Territory. He gives us to understand that this is not the fact; that there is not a great Free State party, struggling to make Kansas a Free State, and a Slave State party struggling to make Kansas a slave-State. He would have the country understand that this is the state of affairs in that Territory; that there is a party of law and order, a party that legitimately and legally governs the Territory; and that there is another party setting at defiance the laws of Congress and the Constitution of the country, and that they are laboring to overthrow by lawless violence the Government of the Territory, and to impose on the people a Constitution of their own choice. Now, sir, I know, you know, every man here knows, that this is not the fact. I say there is no party and there has been no party in the Territory of Kansas, setting at defiance the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the United States; no party, nobody, no set men, in that Territory, in rebellion against Federal authority.

On the 30th March, 1855, the people of the Territory were summoned to the ballot-box to elect thirteen members of the Legislative Council and twenty-six members of the House of Representatives. On that day there was an invasion of the Territory of forty-nine hundred men from the neighboring State of Missouri. These forty-nine hundred armed men went into every Council district and into every Representative district but one. They took possession of the electoral urns; they selected the Legislature to frame the laws for the Territory, and to shape and mould its future. Of the twenty-nine hundred men in the Territory who had a right to vote, less than fourteen hundred voted on that day, and yet a majority of actual residents were in favor of a free State, and had majorities in sixteen of the eighteen districts. These facts have been proved, demonstrated, by taking the names of the persons enrolled as actual voters, and taking the names of the persons who voted on the 30th of March. These facts were proved under the order of the House of Representatives, and by a thorough investigation by a committee of that House, and no man here or elsewhere can deny them.

The people of Kansas had imposed upon them that day a Government not elected by themselves—a Government imposed upon them by those forty-nine hundred men from the State of Missouri. The people of the Territory felt this to be a great outrage on their rights—they had a right to feel so. The people of any State would have felt outraged on going to the ballot-boxes and finding them in the possession of armed men from another State. Gov. Reeder undertook to correct some of these frauds upon the ballot-box, by withholding certificates from the members thus elected; and Gov. Reeder, on that day when he undertook to right these wrongs, was marked for swift destruction.

The Legislature assembled; it threw out the Free State members who held certificates from Governor Reeder; it passed laws violating the rights of a free people; it violated the freedom of speech and of the press; it denied to the people the right to go to the ballot-box, unless they took a test oath that no freeman could take without degradation. Those laws would not allow a man to sit in a jury-box, if he denied the right to hold slaves in the Territory. These laws were intended (to use the language of one of the leading men who imposed them on the people) to degrade and drive out of the Territory the Free State men. What were freemen to do under such circumstances? They had been brought up in the belief that the people were the inherent source of power—that all power came from the people, in their sovereign capacity. They had read the Kansas-Nebraska act, and they supposed that act conferred on the people, without the intervention of a Territorial Legislature or of Congress, the right to come together to frame a Constitution, and to ask for admission into the Union as a sovereign State. The people of other Territories had framed such Constitutions. They assembled in Convention, they framed such a Constitution, they submitted that Constitution to the people, and it received the popular verdict. They elected their officers under it; they chose their Senators, and sent them to this Chamber to ask for admission into the Union. They undertook to enforce no laws, and from that time to the present they have kept that Topeka Government in existence; they have framed some acts necessary for its preservation, but from that day to this they have never attempted to enforce those laws. I declare here to-day what I know personally to be absolutely true, and I declare it in the face of the declaration of Gov. Walker and of the President, that the presence of your army in that Territory, the proclamations of your officials, the action here in the Senate and the House of Representatives, have not prevented that people from putting those laws in execution; but they have acted according to their own well-chosen and deliberate policy. They never intended to go into rebellion; they never intended to enforce these laws against the laws of Congress. They have always denied the validity of your Territorial laws, which were imposed upon them by fraud and force; they have not used them for the protection of their liberties or their lives. Young men who went to that Territory to practice their professions have, from conscientious scruples, engaged in the most common labors of life, rather than acknowledge those laws, or take the oath to support them. The masses of the people of that Territory, from that time to this, have never acknowledged those laws as binding on them; they have never claimed their protection. They have been outraged, robbed, imprisoned; they have seen their dwellings burned down; they have been invaded; many of their fellow-citizens have been murdered, because they loved liberty; but they have not invoked the protection of those laws. They never have, they never will, they never ought to do so. No man here would ever submit to them, or claim their protection, or use them for his own personal protection.

The President, in support of this charge of rebellion, quotes the evidence of Governor Walker. Governor Walker, sir, went to that Territory as the President's instrument, to accomplish a certain purpose. He was appointed Governor of Kansas on the 30th of March, 1857; he entered the Territory on Sabbath evening, the 24th of May. Much of the intervening sixty days of time was spent by the Governor in making speeches, and writing letters magnifying his great mission. I went to the Territory, from St. Louis, in company with Governor Walker; I saw him at Lawrence; I saw him when he was welcomed by the people of "rebellious" Lawrence in a generous way, of which any man might be proud; I was at Lecompton, the capital, when he arrived there. Governor Walker went to Kansas, and his own letters demonstrate it, on this mission to divide the people who were in favor of a free State, to unite the Free State Democrats with the Pro-Slavery men, and secure the slavery then existing in Kansas, and make it a Black-Law, Pro-Slavery, Democratic State. That was his mission; and no man in America could have labored more faithfully to accomplish that object. He went to that Territory a Pro-Slavery man, in favor of the Pro-Slavery policy of this country; and in his inaugural address to the people, in view of the fact that it might become a free State, he said that the great Indian territory of the South would be slave territory, and that slave States might be made out of it. I was there when that address was issued; and although we are told now that everything in the Territory was in a state of excitement bordering on rebellion, I say here to-day, that there was no spot on the North American continent where there was more quiet than existed, on the 1st of June last, in the Territory of Kansas. Rebellion existed only in the teeming brain of Governor Walker.

Sir, when Governor Walker arrived in Kansas, the persons appointed to take the census and to enroll the voters had not performed their duty in about half of the counties of the Territory. The Free State men, under the lead of Governor Robinson and other leading men, made a proposition to acting Governor Stanton, before Governor Walker arrived, to go into the election of delegates to the Convention, if they could be enrolled, and the ballot-boxes so protected that there should be no invasions and no fraudulent voting. They did not wish to commit themselves in that election, and find at the polls what they found at the polls on the 30th of March, 1855—an invading host of illegal voters, to rob them of their rights. Secretary Stanton, who was then acting Governor, to whom this proposition was made, answered these gentlemen by saying he had no power to correct the list of voters, and he could do nothing to aid them. Some of the people, in some of the counties where the officials had refused to take the census or to register the voters, made an application to go on and elect their delegates; and it was suggested to them that they could do so, and that their delegates might be accepted by the Convention. When the day of election came, less than twenty-three hundred men went to the polls to vote, about one-ninth part of all the voters in the Territory.

When the result of this election was known in the Territory, it was believed by intelligent men of all parties that the Convention would never assemble; that it had gone down beneath the moral sentiment of the people; that it was an ignominious and contemptible failure.

The President quotes Governor Walker's hasty and ill-timed language in regard to the action of the people of the city of Lawrence, to show their rebellious spirit. We were told here, the other day, by the Senator from Georgia, that the city of "Lawrence was the sink of filth, folly, and falsehood." Sir, I venture to say, that there is not a town in the United States, north, south, east, or west, of the numbers to be found in this town of Lawrence, containing more of individual worth, or personal character, or general intelligence. I venture to say that there are more college graduates in that town than in any town west of the Alleghanies of equal population. The people of Lawrence are a law-abiding, liberty-loving people. Having lived for two years without the protection of law, having been robbed and plundered, and being desirous of doing something for their own local interests, the people of that town, in July last, framed and adopted a city charter. The people there are all on one side; there are, I think, only two or three Slave State men there, and no one intended to enforce any laws on them. It was a charter framed by common consent. The laws under it were intended to be executed by common consent. The committee of the people say, in their address:

"As its action will be purely local, and have reference merely to our own internal affairs, no collision is apprehended with any other organization claiming to exercise general jurisdiction in the Territory."

They did not intend to violate the laws of the Union or of the Territory. The Governor moved the troops upon that town, and pronounced their acts rebellion; but the people went right on. They framed their ordinances, they put their ordinances in execution, while his army was encamped on their soil; and from that time to this, they have peacefully and quietly administered their own local town affairs, and have harmed nobody in or out of the Territory. This simple act, performed by common consent, having the assent of the whole people, intended to operate only in their own local affairs, was pronounced by Gov. Walker as the greatest rebellion the world had ever witnessed:

"A rebellion so iniquitous, and necessarily involving such awful consequences, has never before disgraced any age or country."

This ridiculous declaration is only equalled by his ridiculous action in moving the army on Lawrence. The Governor tells us that this town of Lawrence was the hot-bed of the Abolitionists of the East, that paid agents of those societies were there. I deny the fact that paid agents were in the town of Lawrence, of any Abolition society, East or West.

The Legislature imposed on Kansas by lawless violence provided that the people should vote in October, 1856, whether they would call a Convention to frame a Constitution. In October, 1856, the vote was taken, and about two thousand votes were given upon that question. Test oaths were then demanded, and the Free State men would not vote. Sir, the President sharply censures the people of Kansas for not voting for the election of delegates to the Convention. The Legislature, in the winter of 1857, passed the Convention act. The plan was to make Kansas a slave State. The time, the mode, and the machinery, were all selected, with the skill of political tricksters, to secure that result. Governor Geary vetoed the act, because it contained no clause authorizing and directing the submission of the Constitution to the people, for their ratification or rejection. In a recently-written letter, Governor Geary tells us that—

"In a conference with the committees of the two Houses by whom the bill had been reported, I proposed to sign the bill, provided they would insert in it a section authorizing the submission of the Constitution as above indicated. But they distinctly informed me that the bill met the approbation of their friends in the South—that it was not their intention the Constitution should ever be submitted to the people, and that to all intents and purposes it was like the laws of the Medes and Persians, and could not be altered."

Governor Geary tells us that he was informed that the reason why the Constitution was not to be submitted to the people was, that their friends in the South, who were in favor of making Kansas a slave State, required that it should not be submitted. Their friends in the South were wise in this respect. They believed they could control the election of the delegates to the Convention; but they knew that if the Constitution was submitted to a fair vote of the people, the people, by an overwhelming majority, would vote it down; and they then demanded, if we are to believe these gentlemen of the committees of the two Houses, that the Constitution should not be submitted to the people. Why did gentlemen from the South demand that the Constitution should not be acted upon by the people? They knew that the people were in favor of making Kansas a free State; that they would vote down any Constitution that did not make Kansas a free State; and therefore the people must be robbed of their right to vote on their own Constitution.

[SEE FOURTH PAGE.]

☞ Mr. Wheeler is the accredited agent for the *Era*, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1858.

TO OUR VOLUNTARY AGENTS.

Many of our friends assured us that, on the opening of the spring, or towards March, they would be able to renew their efforts for subscribers, with better hope of success. May we remind them of this? Has not the time nearly come? New subscribers will just he in time to begin with the opening of the proceedings on the Lecompton bill.

THE ERA FOUR MONTHS FOR FIFTY CENTS.

We have not heretofore encouraged subscriptions to the *Era* for less than a year, hnt the state of political affairs which for the next few months promises to he of peculiar interest to every friend of Freedom, and the hope of greatly enlarging the *Era's* circle of readers, that the people may be prepared to vote understandingly at the approaching fall elections, for the men who are to represent them in the next Congress, induce us to offer the *Era* on the following terms:

Ten copies for four months, beginning March 1st, five dollars in advance.

This will afford an opportunity to our friends to give the *Era* a wide circulation, and also enable those subscribers who have been compelled to discontinue their subscriptions on account of the "hard times," to continue at a small advance of money.

We accompany this offer with the expression of our earnest hope that, where it is practicable, subscriptions will he sent in for a year.

PERSONAL CONTROVERSIES.—During the week, the letter-writers have been able to enliven their correspondence with accounts of several personal controversies.

Mr. Cullom, Clerk of the last House, and Mr. [illegible]lay, member of the present, had come to [illegible] Brown's Hotel, came to blows, words [illegible]rds, met at Bladensburg, exchanged [illegible]ce, and, Mr. Cullom [illegible], shot at each other [illegible] the arm, he [illegible] being wounded severely [illegible]d their [illegible]uth were satisfied. Both they [illegible] seconds have committed a penitentiary offence, according to the laws of the District. So runs the report. We do not vouch for it.

Col. Sumner, feeling himself aggrieved by something that had transpired in his intercourse with General Harvey, sent him a challenge. It is stated that the General declined on account of considerations connected with his rank, and laid the correspondence before the War Department. Both have since left the city, bnt one, it is said, has gone to the North, the other, to the South.

Lieutenant Rhind, of the navy, challenged Commodore Boutwell, and, receiving a refnsal, posted him as a coward; whereupon he was arrested, and held to hail to keep the peace.

Lieutenants Williams and Bell had a fight at Willard's, were separated; a challenge passed, and was not accepted; further we know not.

Beside these interesting events, there have been several pugilistic exhibitions.

One might suppose that the President, in the present belligerent state of things, might have the Mormon rebellion enppressed by contract. He would find any nnmber of bidders.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

In the Senate, the resolntions of the Legislature of Tennessee, instructing Senator Bell to vote for the Lecompton Constitution, were presented, and the honorable gentleman delivered an eloquent speech in defence of his conrse in the Senate. His colleague, Senator Johnson, replied to him at some length. Mr. Bell claimed to know as much of the sentiments of the People of his State, as did the men who passed the resolution instructing him how to vote, and he announced his purpose to disregard those instructions. It was a bold and spirited speech.

In the House, the consideration of Mr. Hoard's resolntion was postponed till Wednesday, and the Indian appropriation bill was taken up, the House resolving itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. Mr. Morris, of Illinois, an Anti-Lecompton Democrat, made an excellent speech against the Lecompton movement, and exposed its eminently disastrous consequences to the Democratic party.

POST OFFICE ROBBERY.

The case of the young man, who was arrested in this city a few weeks for the robbery of letters in the City Post Office, in which he was employed as a clerk, is quite suggestive.

His helonge, it is said, to a highly-respectable family in Virginia, where, we suppose, he might have lived creditably to himself and his parents, had he been trained to a respectable trade or profession. His clerkship here exposed him to seductive associations; he became a frequenter of the gambling hells upon the Avenne, a gentleman of fashion and extravagance. Such a life required more money than he could earn; the money he must have. Piles of letters lay before him, and he had learned to distinguish those of value. He laid hands from time to time on such as he pleased, purloined the contents, and, after he had ventured so far as he thonght prudent, resigned, trnsting that he had escaped all danger of detection. Bnt, the prisoners were on his track—he was suddenly arrested, the crime was fastened npon him, and he confessed his guilt.

What followed? He was held to hail in the sum of $6,000, and is now at large. Nohody supposes that he will ever appear for trial. His bail will be forfeited in all probability, and we doubt whether any vigorous measures will be taken to collect the money on his hail bond. Meantime, the robbery goes unpnnished—and those who have been robbed must make up their minds to no redress. The Government, in its administration of the Post Office, is proticually lenient to rognes, and reckless of the interests of honest men. Our own loss by this rohhery we have already ascertained to be over four hundred dollars, hut, should the $6,000 amount of bail forfeited, be collected, we shall not be a whit better off; nohody who has lost by the robbery will receive a cent of it. The whole amount, we suppose, will go to the Government. The Government lets the criminal off, makes money by the operation, and the only loser is the citizen who has trnsted his interests to its keeping. Dnring our career as an editor, we have lost, by post office robberies, that is, through the criminality of persons employed by the Federal Government, some thonsands of dollars; in many cases, the robbers have been detected, sometimes let off on bail, sometimes committed and incarcerated, but in no case have we heen so fortunate as to receive a single dollar. Our experience is bnt that of other publishers and business men. How wisely and beneficially the Law provides for the protection of the citizens!

☞ We have received a copy of a sermon preached in the House of Representatives, by Rev. Geo. W. Bassett, pastor of the Congregational Church in Washington. It is published by request, and is an able exposition of the text, (1 Kings, ii, 2,) "*show thyself a man.*" Its author preaches regularly in the Congregational Church in this city.

THE PRESS AND PUBLIC MEN.

As an editor, in the habit of using considerable freedom of speech, we shall hardly be unspected of a willingness to conceda a single right of the Press. Public men are public property; their acts and words are legitimate subjects of comment and criticism. The Press can do much to increase or diminish their influence—much to strengthen or weaken their position in the confidence of the People. It overlooks at times its own power in these respects. It may not consider how much mischief may he done by a hasty report, a thoughtless imputation, an uncorrected error.

When a hostile press assails a statesman, nobody is surprised—we are on our guard, and are quick to detect the prejudice or party feeling which dictates and colore the attack. But when a man is wounded in the house of his friends, the impression goes abroad that an offence which can constrain a friendship to strike the blow, must he indeed a grievous one.

The truth is, Human Nature is apt to he intolerant, and Human Nature has a good deal to do with the issues of the Press. Is it not true, also, that the masses of the People are more ready to believe evil than good of their public men? It may be, because they have been so often deceived, or because they have been trained in the doctrine of total depravity: but, whatever the cause, confidence is a plant of slow growth, and, when grown, so frail as to he easily blighted.

The Republican Press, especially that of New York, seems to watch the conduct of Republican leaders in Congress with a jealousy so extreme as almost to exclude a general confidence. It does not always await full and antientic reports of their doings, but should their words or votes, as announced hurriedly by the telegraph, seem not exactly right, it is quite possible that the next morning's leader may he a serious discourse on their lamentably wrong position. Men who are engaged in a great struggle for a great object, ought to be a little forbearing towards one another—watch over each other for good—tolerate opinions not at war with the Idea that combines them for a single purpose—overlook eccentricities of movement not incompatible with the achievement of this purpose—heware of exalting every point of difference into a question of overshadowing importance, raising issues calculated to divide and embarrass.

We bad occasion, more than a year ago, to vindicate Mr. Hale against a severe, an unjustifiable assault, made by a Republican paper in New York, the editor of which now is better prepared to do justice to the devotion which that Senator has uniformly manifested to the rights of mankind, since he took his position on the Texas question in 1845. Gerrit Smith refused when in Congress to join in a struggle of endnrance against a measure pressed by a majority, and the insufficient reasons he assigned for it, were made the subject of extended and severe comment by Republican papers, carried to such an extent as to raise doubt in some minds of his Anti-Slavery fidelity. What an absurdity! It was proper to dissent from his conduct, and expose the insufficiency of the plea on which it was justified, hut why pursue him as if he had committed a grave error?

A short time ago, a miserable story about money lent to Mr. Banks, told in such a way as to convey the impression that his action while Speaker in regard to the Tariff had been influenced by it, was published in a New York Republican paper, which previously had shown no particular good will to that gentleman. There was not a particle of trnth in it, as was subsequently shown, and it ought never to have appeared in a Republican paper.

And now, the next man assailed, is William H. Seward. The *Tribune* and the *Evening Post* of New York have elaborate articles upon him, to say nothing of shorter paragraphs, which, without any such intention on their part, are impressing some minds with the idea that he has either fallen, or is about falling, like Daniel Webster. If we did not know him to he just what he has always been since he stood out from his Party in New York, as Governor of that State, stating and vindicating, in his correspondence with the Governor of Virginia, the Principles on which the Anti-Slavery movement rests; to stand just where he has always stood since that time, a supporter of those principles—we should infer from the newspaper comments upon him, that he had at last apostatized and done work meet to be praised by the Pro-Slavery Party. One says he has renounced allegiance to the Republican Party; another, that he announces that the battle between Freedom and Slavery is over; another, that he is in favor of a permanent augmentation of the standing army; another, that he has given up Kansas, and so on. To show the effect of this newspaper criticism, we quote the following:

"William H. Seward, through his able defences of Freedom and the Rights of the Settlers in the Fifth Congressional District of Kansas, was elected Senator; and for no other reason obtained the true Democratic votes of New York, and without which he could not have been elected. My determination is, as far as my study of every point will enable me, with devoted watchfulness to promote the liberty of my country and true Democratic principles, but I advocated and supported him, notwithstanding his profession to the application of public money by his votes; but W. H. Seward, having failed in his devotion to the freedom of Kansas, thereby the perpetuity of our liberties, can never again obtain my support, nor that, I will venture to say, of the State that sent him. If I were in our State Senate, I should advocate to instruct him to vote against the increase of the army, as we have enough already, if the bayonets against Freedom were withdrawn from Kansas. Webster, through his ambition, was shiny; W. H. Seward has what I will not now say. As the honor of Massachusetts was tarnished by Daniel Webster, so is that of New York by W. H. Seward, men of (hardly) equalled talents in their several States. Woe to men of great talents with greater vices. A DEMOCRAT.

"P. S.—To the *National Era*."

Now, if our friend could have had something haside the telegraphic reports and newspaper discourses to judge from, he would not have been so hasty. Had he been in possession of the files of the *Congressional Globe*, containing an authentic report of all that Mr. Seward has said and done about the army hill, he would not have written the foregoing communication.

We rarely in the *Era* signalize or praise individuals, whatever may he our opinion of them. Panegyric is not to our taste, nor shall we indulge in it now. But, it is sheer folly to suppose that Mr. Seward has changed his character, his purposes, or his policy. He is just as true to the cause of Freedom to-day, as he has ever been. He does not advocate a permanent increase of the standing army. He has not said that the battle between Freedom and Slavery is over. He has not renounced allegiance to the Republican Party. He has not given up to Kansas.

We assert all this, after having read the debates and proceedings of the Senate, and we doubt not every Senator knows that the statement is true. He feels that it is the duty of the Chief Executive to maintain the Federal authority in Utah by suppressing rebellion. So do we. He holds that the force ought to be so large as to show the Mormons that there is no hope of successful resistance, whereby bloodshed might be prevented. So do we. He holds that to secure such a force it is necessary to raise additional regiments, either volunteers or regulars, which, however, he insists must be discharged at the end of two years, or at the termination of the difficulty. Here we differ from him, and so do many of the Republican Senators who are opposed to any increase of the army whatsoever. We agree with them heartily. But, we ask the reader, what is there in this difference of opinion, to make W. H. Seward a traitor to the cause of Freedom, while our fidelity passes unquestioned? It is this minor matter which has been exalted into so much consequence by the Press and into its towering magnitude all the [illegible] that under led by Mr. Seward to the [illegible] services rendered to he dwarfed into [illegible]e cause of Freedom are As to his [illegible] insignificance.

Re[illegible] renunciation of allegiance to the [illegible]ublican Party, it amounts to just this: As a statesman, as a Senator from New York, in determining how he shall discharge his duties, he recognises his allegiance to God and his country, not to any party. And we say, *that* is right. If he did not so act, he would not deserve to he called a Republican.

What he said about the battle being ended, referred to the great struggle for equilihrium in the Senate. That he regarded as already fought. The free States already have a majority of two in that body. Bring in Kansas and Minnesota, even forcing the infernal Lecompton fraud through Congress, and still the equilihrinm is not restored—the free States have yet the majority. But, whatever disposition the Administration may be able to make of the Lecompton Constitntion, Kansas is inevitably free. Snch we understand to he his position. All this, however, he regards not as *the battle* of Freedom, bnt as preliminary and subordinate.

We need hardly say, that we write from our own prompting alone. It is not well to impair the influence of men trne to the great interests of Freedom, and with large powers to promote them. As to Mr. Seward's theory of politics, or system of policy, as it affects the financial affairs of the nation, we do not helieve in it. Our theory, we presume, is precisely the opposite, so that we shall not he accused of any bias in our attempt to correct the misapprehensions of some in regard to his position.

In relation specially to the new regiments demanded for the Utah rebellion, we would not vote a man to aid the Administration. If it will do its duty, it can relieve Colonel Johnson's command without any action by Congress. If it fail to do it, and American soldiers fall victims to Mormon fanaticism, their blood be upon the head of Mr. Buchanan! Look at the tabular official statement of the army in Kansas—2,500 men! What business have they there? What right has James Buchanan to keep them there? If Colonel Johnson is in danger, whose fault is it? The fault of James Buchanan, who sent him out too late in the season, and would not spare him troops enongh, having need of Federal bayonets to force npon the free men of Kansas a hateful Constitntion. Two thousand soldiers despatched from Kansas at the earliest opening of the season would fully relieve Colonel Johnson, and give him ample force for all purposes. Bnt, no! the President must needs dragoon American citizens in Kansas into obedience to his will, and so asks Congress to furnish him additional troops to send to Utah. Not a head should he have by our vote; but should evil come to the army in Utah, from its weakness, he would deserve impeachment.

CLERKSHIPS IN WASHINGTON.

With every new Congress, adventurers swarm here in quest of clerkships. What there is in a Government clerkship so attractive, we cannot nnderstand, nnless it he little work and sure pay. As a general rule, no brains are needed—nothing bnt a tolerably fair penmanship, and the faculty of sitting still some five or six hours. For these high attributes, a man may receive ten or fifteen hnndred dollars. This is something for a lazy man, without ambition; hnt what an occupation for one who has any thought beyond the animal.

We presume every member of Congress is beset with applicants from the "rural districts"—his precious constituents have nevercending claims upon him. Let hnt a political association he started here, and if there is any petty pay office attached to it, every member has his spoils candidate, whose claims are at least equal to anybody's.

People wonder sometimes that so many of the Standing Committees in Congress should need clerks. It is not always the Committee that needs a clerk, hut the constituent or friend of a member that needs a clerkship. The wants of the Public Service are sometimes determined by the demands of Private Interest.

Not long since, a member from the West introduced a hill proposing to equalize the Federal patronage in relation to clerkships, by apportioning it according to the Federal representation among the several States. Thus, Indiana should he entitled to furnish clerks for the bureans in Washington, according to her Federal population, and so the other States. The great object was, to give all the States an equal share. So every year, each Democratic representative (supposing the Administration to be Democratic) was to carry to the Washington market so many of his dear constituents in his train, to he initiated in the sublime mysteries of Government clerking; and, where a district chanced to send an opposition member, then we snppose the orthodox were to choose the requisite number from among the faithful, and send them on.

The general proposition met with favor, we believe, and, if we mistake not, it was referred. It will he observed that the business of the Government is regarded simply as a matter of *patronage*. The trifling considerations of economy, fitness, and efficiency, are left ont of sight.

Now, to parents in the States who have sons to dispose of, we would say, keep them at home, and give them an honest trade or profession, in which they can earn an independent living, produce something of value, and develop what powers God has given them. Washington is a poor place for a young man of enterprise, just starting in life. In any of the States or Territories, you have a wider and safer field for your energies than you can find here. What do you want with a clerkship? It may yield you ten or fifteen hnndred a year—what else? You have no chance of rising. A clerkship is not the road to political preferment, nor can you calculate on permanent employment. Every change of Administration is full of peril to you, so that you can have no settled plans of life.

Nor can you find full and satisfactory employment for soul and body. In the discharge of your duties, you act as a machine; at the end of your six hours' task, you have neither ideas nor a taste for them, and, in your vacnity of mind, and longing for excitement, should you escape the gaming table or drunkard's saloon, give special thanks to your Maker for an extraordinary deliverance.

Holding your appointment as a matter of party favor, *that* may at any moment be withdrawn. The merchant employs you because he needs you, because you can render the service he requires. You are independent—you give value for value—the tie between you is that, not of patronage, but interest. You may hold what opinions you please, and advocate them too, provided you do faithfully what you have agreed to do. But, a clerk under the Government, you are a dependant—not employed, *because* you are fitted for your work, or *because* the Government needs you, but on the strength of influences growing out of Party. You are a dependant, and as such have lost a part of your freedom. Eyes are watching you to [illegible] you read, ears, listening to hear [illegible] what tongues, ready to bear to [illegible] what you say, loyalty to the Par[illegible]stimony against your poor fellow [illegible]y. We have known clerks—not a few—who, anxious to see the *Era*, did not dare to have it known that they were subscribers! You may not he required in all cases to think exactly as your superiors, hnt if you think differently, no matter how vital the subject, no matter though it involve the highest moral considerations, you must suppress your thoughts, and, while *free* men are taking sides, where to be passive may be a crime, you are compelled to he passive. You must sacrifice your manhood or your bread.

Let the People keep their sons at home. Washington is no place for young men of talent and energy, nnless they come here in the discharge of the duties of the honorable and productive callings to which they have been dedicated.

THE BEGINNING.

The snpporters of the Lecompton Constitution, hacked by Executive influence, are determined and reckless. The business in which they are engaged requires despatch, and they are not to he restrained by the ordinary rules of fair play or parliamentary law. The Committee on the resolution of Mr. Harris, enjoining a full inquiry into the circumstances attending the formation and adoption of Calhonn's Constitution, ought to have heen so constituted as to he able to carry out faithfully the will of the House; but Mr. Orr, the Speaker, gave the majority to those members opposed to a full investigation—in other words, assumed the responsibility of defeating the express will of the House. He might, with as much propriety, interpose a direct veto upon its vote, and refuse to form any committee at all.

The Committee of Inquiry has done nothing, and, we presume, will do nothing; for a majority of its members, under the lead of Mr. Stephens of Georgia, has thus far arrested every project of the minority for a fair examination. The scheme is, to have the hill reported by Mr. Green in the Senate, hnrried through that body, sent to the House, and put through there, by such appliances as carried the Kansas-Nebraska hill, without the slightest reference to anything that may he done by the Committee of Inquiry.

The same rnde and reckless disregard of appearances characterizes the Lecomptonites in the Senate. It was the understanding that the Committee on Territories should report on the snbject last Monday, Mr. Douglas, the Chairman, having been delayed in the performance of his duties, by severe domestic affliction. But, the majority of the committee reconsidered the matter, determined to hasten their report, and notified Judge Douglas Wednesday of last week that they would bring it in the next morning. A correspondent of the *Tribune* says—"The whole scheme was concocted with some adroitness, and included in its programme a one-sided statement from Calhoun, which has not even yet been seen by the minority." Mr. Douglas, not to he forestalled, as seemed to be the purpose of the majority, set to work at once, and, hy writing till three o'clock Thursday morning, got his report ready, while Messrs. Collamer and Wade, who had received no notification of the change of time, were ready, nevertheless, and all the reports came in at once. So the majority made nothing by their indecent haste.

We cannot find room for these documents. The report of the majority occupies a whole page of the Washington *Union*, and is a dull *resumé* of what we have heard the last two months from the advocates of Lecompton. That of Judge Douglas occupies more than a page the New York *Tribune*, is written with his characteristic force and clearness, bnt the material points will doubtless he reproduced in the speech which he proposes to make when the discussion shall have begnn, and which we shall lay before our readers. The report of Messrs. Collamer and Wade is concise, and to the point, reaching the same practical conclusion as that of Judge Douglas, although by a somewhat different route.

The report of Green, or the majority of the Committee, ventures no opinion as to the power of the People to alter their Constitution immediately after the admission of Kansas as a State, and the hill reported provides for its admission under the Lecompton Constitution, without any qualification. It is given out, however, on "the highest authority," that, when the subject shall come up, an amendment will he offered from the Administration side, expressly declaring that "nothing in the Lecompton Constitution shall he construed or held to interfere with the right of the People to alter, amend, or modify, it at pleasnre." On this amendment and on the effect of Mr. Calhoun's announcement that he intends to govern himself by the depositions of the Judges, as already taken, and authenticated by Governor Denver, suffice? For one, when the certificates shall have been issued to a Free State majority, then, and only then, shall we he satisfied.

LYNCH LAW IN KENTUCKY.

We have just received a letter from John G. Fee, of Madison county, Kentncky, dated the 12th inst., giving an account of a gross act of violence committed on himself and a colporteur, Mr. Jones, not long since, by a mob of armed men. Mr. Fee, while preaching, was dragged from the pulpit, he and his companion, Mr. Jones, were carried about two miles away, Mr. Jones was stripped, and beaten, and threats were used to force from Mr. Fee a pledge never to return to that neighborhood. He refused to give any such pledge, bravely maintained his right to preach the gospel wherever he pleased, and they were at last set at liberty. Both are citizens of the State, native born Kentuckians. The whole account we shall give in our next.

POLITICAL SUMMARY.

The people of Col. Orr's district, met a few days since, at Craytonville, S. C., and passed resolutions endorsing his conrse in Congress, and expressing regret at his determination to retire from public life at the end of the present Congress.

The Democrats of the Iowa Legislature, in caucus, have passed the following resolntions. They are a substitute for the Republican resolntions which have passed the Iowa Legislature:

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa*, That we regard the refusal of the Lecompton Convention to snbmit the Constitution framed hy them to the people of Kansas as nnwise and unfortunate for the peace of that Territory, and we hereby declare that every Constitution of a new State, unless otherwise declared by the people themselves, ought to be submitted to the *bona fide* electors of such Territory, for their approval or rejection.

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives in that body requested, to vote against the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, unless said Constitution shall receive a majority of all the votes cast for and against it, after a full and free submission of said Constitution to the people of said Territory.

"*Resolved*, That we rely upon the enlightened patriotism and sagacious statesmanship of the President of the United States, and administer the Government in conformity with these principles.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

What will Senator Jones say to snch resolutions, written and approved nnanimously by the Democrats of the Iowa Legislatnre?

The Providence *Post*, a strong advocate of the Lecompton Constitution, in an article of February 15, calls npon General Calhonn to inform the country who are the successful candidates elected on the 4th of January. The *Post* believes that nothing short of *fraud*—just such fraud as that exposed by Walker in Johnson and McGee counties—can secure a confirmation of the election of the Pro Slavery candidates, and insists "that the people shonld be assured by Mr. Calhonn himself that such a fraud is not to he countenanced."

Many of the Lecompton presses are calling upon John Calhoun to decide npon the election returns in his hands, and issne certificates to the Free State or Pro-Slavery claimants. A correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican* says:

"The returns of the election had to he made to General Calhonn, and he invited the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House to be present at the opening of the returns. They attended, and they published the success of the Free State ticket.

"Gen. C. published nothing, hut very soon those claiming to be his friends published the election of the Democratic ticket, and ever since we have had it first one way and then the other, without hearing anything from Gen. Calhonn; and he has left for Washington, without making a single public word.

"All this is seized upon by designing men of the Free State party, and paraded about as evidence of trickery and fraud, and many of the Democrats are dissatisfied, and think the matter ought to have been made public.

"Honest men of all parties want a fair game played, and don't like too much secrecy and mystery about political matters. I very much regret that the General did not publish the result before he left, as the omission will prejudice him and us."

A great anti-Lecompton demonstration was made in New York, last Thursday evening. A great crowd repaired to the Chinese Assembly Rooms, and the Hon. George Baucroft took the chair. The following-named gentlemen were, with their consent, made Vice Presidents: George Douglass; William F. Havemeyer; John Emeu; Edward C. West; James A. McMasters, editor of the *Freeman's Journal*; A. C. Flagg; Oliver De Forest Grant; George B. De Forest; Emannel G. Massaras, editor of *Courier des Etats Unis*; William Harny; Malcolm Graham; J. Ottendefer, editor of the *Staats Zeitung*; Aaron B. Thompson; Hugh McCutcheon; Robert G. Dunn.

Secretaries—A. M. Pell, George B. Butler, William Gale, jr.

Mr. Bancroft made a short opening address, and ex-Secretary Stanton followed in a long and able speech, one hundred thousand copies of which have been published, and are already in the hands of the people of the country. The meeting adopted a strong set of resolutions, condemnatory of the Lecompton Constitution. We copy two of the resolntions, which may interest certain gentlemen this way:

"*Resolved*, That our best thanks are due to Thomas J. Harris, of Illinois, and the majority of the House of Representatives, especially including the true-hearted John B. Haskin, who, as the grand inquest of the nation, have given the country the hope of a thorough investigation of all matters relating to the Lecompton Constitution, and the frands connected therewith.

"*Resolved*, That the immediate representatives of this city of New York, Horace F. Clark, John Cochrane, John Kelley, William B. Maclay, Daniel E. Sickles, and Elijah Ward, are hereby requested to oppose the Lecompton Constitution, as required by the principles of popular sovereignty by the Cincinnati platform, by the instructions of President Buchanan to Governor Walker, by the authorized promises of Governor Walker to the people of Kansas, by the fundamental principle of Democracy, and by the desire of the great majority of the voters of this city."

A case of election fraud occurred in Atchison county, Kansas, recently, where a special election was held for a member of the lower house of the Territorial Legislature, to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of the original incumbent. A Democrat, named Badger, was returned as elected. On investigation, it was ascertained that his majority over Elliott, Free Soil, was entirely made up of a spurious vote returned as having been cast at a place called Fort William. When the polls closed there, it was found that the ninety-nine votes cast, mostly by Missonrians and minors, were still insufficient to elect Badger, so forty-three spurious votes were added. All these facts having been proven before the legislative committee, Badger was ejected from the seat, and Elliott declared the lawful incumbent.

The N. Y. *Freeman's Journal*, a Catholic and Democatic journal, is very severe upon the Administration for its conrse upon Kansas. It says:

"What is the practical difference between the 'Royal Prerogative' claimed hy the weak and tyrannical Stnarts, and the Executive influence so impudently flaunted in our faces by the advocates of the fraudulent Constitution of the Lecomptonites? The only difference is, that this 'Executive influence' is viler in its nature, more demoralizing, and more potent, than the 'Royal Prerogative' which lives in the execration of free men. We have been told, day by day, by the servants and the seekers of the Government pelf, that some ten millions of dollars of 'patronage' are to be employed in buying the votes or the absence of a sufficient number of the representatives of the people, to secure the passage of an act deadly to the interests of the country and to the fundamental principles of our institutions."

The Hon. T. S. Anderson is an American member of Congress from Missouri. He goes with the Administration in Kansas matters, and is loudly condemned by his constituents for his conduct. Nearly all the Missouri American prints are ont upon him. The *Lagrange American*, published in the honorable member's district, says:

"We know not of a single American in this district that endorses or approves of the Lecompton swindle. If there are any, we desire them to make themselves known through our columns—they are open to them for the discussion of the question. As for ourself, we are ready to discuss the question in all its hearings.

Mr. Anderson has not been authorized to speak for the American party in this State, and commit it in favor of a tyrannical Locofoco Administration. We disclaim anything of the kind, and ask it as a favor of the Washington *American*, that it will copy this article entire, and set the American party of Missouri right before the country, on this question."

The Hon. Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, delivered an able Anti-Slavery speech in the House, last week. He was listened to with much attention, not only by Republicans, hnt hy the Southern members of the House.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

The select committee of fifteen, to whom was referred the President's late message and accompanying documents, held their second meeting on Wednesday last, when Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, submitted the following resolntion:

"*Resolved*, That, in order to comply with the order of the House under which this committee was organized, which requires it to make such inquire into all the facts connected with the formation of the said Lecompton Constitution, and the laws under which the same was originated, and also whether the same is acceptable and satisfactory to a majority of the legal voters of Kansas, the chairman be authorized to have summoned to appear before the committee the following-named persons, viz: Gov. Robert J. Walker, Gen. John Calhoun, Hon. F. P. Stanton, and John D. Henderson, to testify to all such facts as they have knowledge of, and to produce all such documents, papers, votes, and returns, as have any relation to the election of delegates to the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, or to any election subsequently held in the Territory of Kansas."

The vote upon the resolution was postponed for one week. Mr. Adrain submitted a resolution directing an inquiry into the recent census of Kansas, which was tabled. Another, investigating the appointment of delegates to the Lecompton Convention, was carried. Another, inquiring into the legality of the election of the said delegates, was tabled, with two others directing an examination into the elections held under the Lecompton Convention, and the number of votes cast for and against. So the investigation ordered by the House has so far been stifled.

Senator Pugh, of Ohio, writes to the *New York Herald* the subjoined letter:

SIR: In the letter of your Washington correspondent, published yesterday, I find this paragraph:

"The Democratic members of the Ohio Legislature have written to Senator Pugh, withdrawing all instructions as to how he shall vote on the Kansas question."

Justice to the Democratic members of the Ohio Legislature, as well as to myself, requires that I should contradict the statement here made. I have not received any letter "withdrawing" the instructions to which your correspondent refers.

My own opinion is, that Kansas ought to be admitted immediately upon the Lecompton Constitution, with a reservation of the rights of amendment, as therein prescribed, at any time. The hill which I introduced on the 4th of January was to that effect.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
G. E. PUGH.

The Richmond inauguration of Crawford's statue of Washington, on Monday, was attended by a large concourse of people from all parts of the Union. Senator Hunter delivered an eloquent and able oration upon the occasion.

The last English news is of some importance. The Leviathan is afloat at last. In Parliament, Mr. Roebnck had made a severe attack upon Louis Napoleon, which was replied to by Lord Palmerston.

The Democrats in the Legislature of Ohio propose to enact a set of "Black Laws" only second the Illinois code. They impose a heavy fine npon every colored man who comes into Ohio, and still further upon every person who employs such immigrants. Is this code a specimen of the Democracy of Ohio?

An immense Anti-Lecompton meeting was held in Columbus, Ohio, on the 20th instant. Resolutions were nnanimously passed, endorsing Cox and Douglas.

Dr. Foote, editor of the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, died in that city last Saturday.

Judge Kane, of Pennsylvania, died on Sunday evening last, at his Philadelphia residence.

☞ The Pacific Hotel, at St. Louis, burned to the grounl on Saturday last. Several persons were burned to death, and others injured.

A new arrangement of the States of the Mexican Republic has taken place, under the new Constitntion. There are now 25 provinces, embracing 854,662 square miles of territory, and having an aggregate population of 7,853,396. The several capital towns have an aggregate of 693,000 inhabitants, giving 170,000 to the city of Mexico, 71,000 to Puebla, 63,000 to Guadalaxara, 49,000 to Guanaxuato, 40,000 to Merida, &c. The northern tier of provinces, from New Leon to Lower California, have 354,000 square miles, and 825,000 people, a little over two to the square mile.

It appears that, by hills already reported in the Virginia House of Delegates, the sum of $8,864,400 is asked for works of internal improvement; besides which, the James River and Kanawha Company ask to be absolved from the payment of the $6,000,000 which it owes the Commonwealth.

KANSAS NEWS.

The proceedings of the Investigating Commission at Lawrence continue to attract much attention.

"On the 4th instant, two of the judges of the election at the Delaware Crossing precinct again appeared before the commissioners, and testified that the returns found in the famous box, purporting to have been made out by them, were forgery. The certificates to these returns are genuine, but are attached to three hundred and seventy-nine names instead of forty-three, which the judges have shown to be the whole vote polled at the election held on the 4th of January. The forty-first name on the genuine list is now represented as the two hundred and forty-first. On the genuine poll-book there was one column of names, whereas on the spurious returns there are two columns, and the figures are on the opposite side of the names to which they were on the original. The names are fictitious, with the certificate of the judges cut off from the genuine returns and pasted upon them. Diffendorf, the brother-in-law of Calhonn, testified before the commissioners that these returns were handed to him by Henderson in precisely this shape. The census-takers appointed by the Legislature return *thirty-three* legal votes at Delaware Crossing, and fourteen of these are Free State voters.

"Complaint was made on the 3d instant, before Judge Miller, by Joseph L. Spear, Esq., of Lawrence, and Dr. J. W. Robinson, of Manhattan, against John Calhonn, on the basis of a requisition from Gov. Denver to Mr. Buchanan for the immediate return of Mr. Calhonn to this Territory. Gov. Denver refused to sign the requisition. He said it would be better to have these taken before the grand jury, and if it was then decided that Mr. Calhoun had changed the returns sent to him, or put in fraudulent ones, he would then sign a requisition upon the President for a second. The Free State men claim that they can prove Mr. Calhonn guilty of changing returns and making out fraudulent ones. Warrants have been issued for Henderson, McLean, and others, who have escaped from the Territory.

The frauds at Kickapoo are also being fully developed. We copy from the *States* the following, as amongst the most recent testimony in relation to that precinct:

"Mr. Ewing, a son of the Hon. Thomas L. Ewing, of Ohio, has testified before the investigating commissioners, at Lawrence, that he was at Kickapoo during the day of the election, and remained there until the polls were declared closed. He was present at the time with the express purpose of being able to detect the frauds, should any further ones be attempted; and that but *two other* votes were received after he voted. The returns now show that 443 votes were registered after Mr. Ewing voted. Of the 552 who voted in advance of him, *several voted as many as six times under different names*; hnt these did not make enough to carry the county without adding nearly half a thousand votes, and there is required the fraudulent votes at Delaware Crossing to give a majority for the Pro-Slavery candidates.

"Mr. Currier, Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, corroborates the statement of Mr. Ewing in regard to saying, among voting several times in succession at Kickapoo, and of Mr. Ewing, with himself, having voted just before the polls were closed; and yet upwards of three hundred names appear on the returns after these gentlemen's names are recorded."

"But the Delaware Crossing returns (says the Kansas *Herald*) seemed the most important, as on these depended the whole question. Counting out all other frauds as legal, the returns from this district (provided those which have been sent in since the counting were not included) changed the entire result in both branches of the Legislature, as well as the entire State ticket. Rejecting these returns, then Leavenworth county would elect her eight Free State Representatives and five Senators. The evidence of *two* of the judges of the election established that but forty-three votes were polled at the election held on the 4th of January. But here was the document itself, which, with Calhoun, was *prima facie* evidence that all was fair at that poll. An examination of it showed where the certificate to the returns was cut off, appparently with a pair of scissors, and upwards of three hnndred names were added in a *different handwriting*, to which the certificate was again attached. With the disclosures which are now public in regard to those returns, even Calhoun dare not take them into consideration in making up his final decision."

The Constitutional Convention hill had not been approved by the Governor.

Armed bodies were reported in the vicinity of Fort Scott, but there had been no fighting.

St. Louis, Feb. 19.—The Kansas correspondent of the *Democrat* says that the Topeka Legislature reassembled on the 10th. Concurrent resolntions were introduced, setting forth that, as the President advocates the passage through Congress of the Lecompton Constitution, Gov. Robinson be requested to correspond with the Governors of the States friendly to the people's Government in Kansas, and soliciting aid in case it should be necessary to resist such encroachments upon the principles of republicanism.

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, *Feb.* 10, 1858.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I scarcely expected, last week, when I wrote you, that anything would so soon occur as to make it justifiable for me to trouble you with another letter.

But the news of the Lecompton Constitution having reached Congress in due form, and the President's message urging that the people of Kansas he at once admitted into the Union under that instrument, as the best mode of settling the Kansas question, has caused a unity of feeling amongst all classes of men, which has not hitherto existed. *All* with *one* voice *unhesitatingly* declare that if we are admitted under that instrument, it being offered by the Pro-Slavery men, they will be unscrupulous aspirants will at once be *elevated* to a *higher* position than they have sought.

The people protest against being admitted under the odious thing, even with the power to kill it at once; hnt, if that power be taken from us, the next best thing seems to be to kill the men who have conspired against our liberties.

The President thinks "it will give peace!" that "the soldiery can then he withdrawn from Kansas," and "we can settle our difficulties in our *own way*." Well, if the United States forces are withdrawn, we can settle our difficulties in our own way; and that way will he a very summary one.

There has been, and still is, a conservative wing in the Free State party; but the idea of a conservative element always presupposes that there is something *worth conserving*. Let the Administration beware, lest all that is worth liberty to save be taken from us. The people of Kansas have borne long and much; but heretofore they have not been *desperate*. Hope has not entirely gone ont. If this last great anchor be torn from us, and we let go all else, there will still remain the last hope—it could defiantly cry in the ears of the British King, "Give me *liberty*, or give me *death*!"

Under ordinary circumstances, the people of Kansas would not feel themselves justified in disturbing the present order of the Territory, from the simple fact that men who did not fairly represent the majority of the people are placed at the head of the Government; hnt the circumstances in which we should be placed, were we to be admitted under the Lecompton Constitution, would le most extraordinary.

First, we had no voice in framing the Constitution; second, we are not permitted to approve or disapprove of the instrument, when it was claimed to have been submitted; third, by our own unaided efforts, (except so far as the Secretary assisted us, and which we fully appreciate,) we procured the passage of a law whereby we were permitted to express our dissent from not only the *provisions* of the instrument, but from everything connected with it

LETTER FROM MR. CALHOUN, OF KANSAS.

We transfer to our columns the subjoined letter from Mr. Calhoun, President of the late Constitutional Convention in the Territory of Kansas, which we find in the official paper of yesterday morning:

WASHINGTON, *February* 17, 1858.

To the Editor of the Union:

SIR: * * * My object now is to place myself right before the public on the subject of the election returns for members of the Legislature in Leavenworth county, the statements in reference to which have been so conflicting and contradictory.

On the 13th of January, the day befor I opened the returns of the Kansas elections for and under the Constitution, I was called upon by several gentlemen from Lawrence, headed by Doctor or Governor Robinson, and asked if I would be governed, in determining the result of the election in Leavenworth county, by the sworn statement of one of the judges of election at the precinct known as the "Delaware Crossing." I replied, no! That I could not and would not go behind the election returns. It was then stated that the question was as to the legality of returns; and fraud was charged, on what information I did not learn, upon the ground that the returns sent to me were not the true returns, as approved and signed by the judges of election. To give the full opportunity of submitting testimony as to the legality of the returns, I told the gentlemen that, as the Legislature would have no duties to perform until after the decision of the question of admission, there could be no necessity for the immediate issuance of certificates of election in that or any other case, and that the difficulty which they suggested could in the mean time be fully investigated.

This statement I made the next day in the presence of the gentlemen who were present at the opening of the returns. I also authorized Gov. Denver to state, that if the judges of election would furnish me, under oath, a statement that the return made was false and fraudulent, I would treat such statement as a corrected return, and be governed by it in giving certificates of election. I knew nothing of the Delaware Crossing returns, only that public rumor had given to the Democratic party a majority at that precinct of some three or four hundred. I supposed the returns from that precinct were in my office, and was undeceived only when all the returns were opened, and they were not found. These returns were of great importance, as they determined not only the political complexion of Leavenworth county, but of both branches of the Legislature. As they stood at the opening of the returns, without the Delaware Crossing vote, the Republicans had a majority in Leavenworth county, and consequently a majority of both branches of the Legislature.

In order to ascertain the truth, I sent a messenger to that precinct, to see the judges of election, and learn the facts as to the charge of fraud in the return. In the mean time, the sealed returns from that precinct were put into my hands by Mr. Diefendorf, one of the commissioners for Leavenworth county, and on the same day the messenger returned from Delaware Crossing precinct. I received the returns and the messenger's report at Weston, Missouri, on the 21st day of January. The messenger brought to me the following sworn statements of the judges and clerks of the precinct in question:

Territory of Kansas, County of Leavenworth:

The undersigned, judges and clerks of the election held for State officers and members of the State Legislature, held at the precinct known as Delaware Agency, on the 4th day of January, A. D. 1858, do hereby certify that the returns made by us of said election were correct and genuine, and that any statement made by any person, as to the vote of said precinct, can only be determined, as to its truth or falsity, by a reference to said returns made by us as managers and clerks of said election at said precinct.

ISAAC MONDAY,
THEODORE F. GARRETT, } *Judges.*
JAMES C. GRINTER,
W. C. WILSON,
JAMES FINDLAY, } *Clerks.*

Territory of Kansas, County of Johnson:

Before me, Samuel Salters, an acting justice of the peace in and for the county and Territory aforesaid, personally appeared Isaac Monday, Theodore F. Garrett, James C. Grinter, William C. Wilson, and James Findlay, who, being sworn, deposeth and saith that the foregoing statement is true, to the best of their knowledge and belief.

ISAAC MUNDAY.
THEODORE F. GARRETT.
JAMES G. GRINTER.
W. C. WILSON.
JAMES FINDLAY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 18th day of January, 1858.

SAMUEL M. SALTERS, *J. P.*

Territory of Kansas, County of Johnson:

Before me, Samuel Salters, personally appeared Theodore F. Garrett, who, being sworn, says that on the 11th day of January he was arrested in Leavenworth county, under, as it was said, a warrant, and taken to Lawrence, by an armed party of ten or eleven, and while he was under arrest, a proposition was made to him to make a new poll-book, (by some one of the Free State party in Lawrence, and he thinks by a man named Ewing,) which poll-book should be made out so that General Calhoun would receive it, which deponent, being in durance, told him or them he supposed would be all right.

THEODORE F. GARRETT.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this the 18th day of January, 1858.

SAMUEL M. SALTERS, *J. P.*

These depositions impressed my mind fully that the returns placed that day in my hands were true. I entertained no particle of doubt about the result, when, in the presence of Col. Starke and others, I opened the returns, and found a majority of 379 votes for the Democratic party. I concluded, as a matter of course, that the depositions of the judges and clerks were made with a full knowledge of the contents of the returns, then for the first time in my possession. The returns, together with the depositions of the judges and clerks, I sent to my office at Lecompton, by Mr. Brooks, one of the clerks in the Surveyor General's Office. I am informed, in a letter from Mr. Brooks, that he placed them in the hands of General McLean, the chief clerk in the Surveyor General's office, on the 27th day of January. I at once said to my friends, and others who approached me on the subject, that the Democratic party had a majority in the Legislature, and authorized the publication of such a statement. I came to Washington with no particle of doubt on my mind as to the result. On Saturday night, after my arrival in Washington, I called to pay my respects to an old friend, Judge Douglas, and before leaving he placed in my hands a paper he had just received from Kansas. This paper contained what purported to be the depositions of the judges of election for the precinct of Delaware Crossing, and in which the judges deposed that there were but *forty-three* votes polled at that precinct. I could not act or form my opinion upon newspaper publication; but I immediately informed my friends, that if the statement so made should prove true, they must inevitably control my action. I have received and opened a return from the Delaware Crossing precinct, which gives to the Democratic party a majority of 379 votes, and would thus secure a majority to the Democratic legislative ticket of Leavenworth county, and a majority on joint ballot in the Legislature under the Constitution. If the judges of election at that precinct furnish to me, as I informed Gov. Denver before leaving Kansas, a reliable and sworn statement that but forty-three votes were polled there, I should make myself a party to the fraud if I declined to be governed by the oaths of the judges. It is a question going to the legality of the returns. Of that I may judge and determine. I shall do so; and in my determination I shall be governed by justice and truth and the right. If it shall, as it probably will, place the Government of the State of Kansas in the hands of my enemies, no one will regret it more; but yet no one, not even a Black Republican, could perform the duty with more of the consciousness of right than I shall feel in the honest discharge of my official duties. I have written to Governor Denver to procure the sworn statements of the judges of this controverted precinct, and to have them taken under such circumstances as will secure a free and unbiased exhibition of facts. By the sworn statements, so procured, I shall be governed in giving the certificates of election to the members of the Legislature from Leavenworth county.

J. CALHOUN.

Note by the Editors of the National Intelligencer.

Leaving Mr. Calhoun's letter to speak generally for itself, it may not be improper for us to remark on one or two of its points.

In reference to that part of the letter which expresses Mr. Calhoun's purpose of being governed, in deciding the result of the State election, by the testimony of the judges of the Delaware Crossing precinct, we presume that he means merely to await the receipt of an authenticated copy of the testimony of the said judges; for the attentive reader of this journal will recollect that each of these judges, as appears from their testimony copied from the Kansas papers, has already deposed to be forgeries the very returns which Mr. Calhoun admits to have been received and counted by him at Westport, in Missouri, on the 21st of January—nine days after the expiration of the time within which, under the law, as expounded in his proclamation, these returns were required to be made. Mr. Garrett, one of these judges, having been early arrested on a charge of fraud, testified that only thirty-five or thirty-nine votes were given at the Delaware Crossing precinct, and that a true return thereof had been made, which was intrusted to Mr. John D. Henderson, to be conveyed to Mr. Calhoun. This testimony led to the prompt arrest of Mr. Henderson and the release of Mr. Garrett, since which time we have heard nothing of the latter, except a report that when he was subpœnaed before the commissioners, he could not be found. His two associate judges, however, (Messrs. Grinter and Mundee,) have both sworn that the whole number of votes polled at Delaware Crossing was forty-three, and that this number only were returned by the judges of the election. They have also testified to the falsity of the pretended returns from that precinct, which were received and counted by Mr. Calhoun at Westport, and afterwards found near his office at Lecompton, under a wood-pile, where they were placed by his chief clerk. The testimony of Messrs. Grinter and Mundee differs slightly from that of Mr. Garrett as to the exact number of votes, the latter having stated it at several votes less than the former. Other evidence indicates that Mr. Garrett's recollection was erroneous as to this point. The judges did not open the ballot-box to count the votes, but, being assured that they were all "Democratic," they rolled up the poll list, without sealing it, put it into the ballot-box, and screwed the whole up together. Such is their own testimony.

Another point upon which we would say a word or two is in reference to the affidavits which are embodied in Mr. Calhoun's letter, and to which he seems heretofore to have attached undue importance. Copies of these affidavits first reached us on the 3d instant, in the St Louis *Republican*, to which journal they were forwarded on the 21st of January, the very day upon which, according to his statement, they were put into Mr. Calhoun's possession. The letter to which they were appended stated with precision the result of the election for members of the Kansas Legislature, as the same had been changed by these returns from Delaware Crossing, just then received, and the facts thus communicated were said by the correspondent to have been "received from high authority." But we were at once led to suspect the genuineness of these affidavits, and that suspicion has not yet been removed. Of the six names represented in them, only two are spelt correctly, (that is, in the same manner as we have seen them in the Kansas newspapers,) and the name of the qualifying magistrate, as written in the body of both certificates, is different from the signature at the end. In these affidavits, as above published, Mr. Calhoun has either corrected himself some of the errors alluded to, or has followed a corrected copy. As originally published in the St Louis *Republican*, and as subsequently published in the Kansas papers after being exhumed from beneath the wood-pile, the said affidavits are as follows:

Territory of Kansas, County of Johnson:

Before me, Samuel Salters, personally appeared Theodore F. Garnett, who, being sworn, says that on the 11th day of January he was arrested in Leavenworth county, under, as it was said, a warrant, and taken to Lawrence by an armed party of ten or eleven, and, while he was under arrest, a proposition was made to him to make a new poll-book, (by some one of the Free State party in Lawrence, and he thinks by a man named Ewing,) which poll-book should be made out so that Gen. Calhoun would receive it, which deponent, boing in durance, told him or them he supposed would be all right.

THEODORE F. GARNETT.

Sworn and subscribed before me, this 18th day of January, 1858.

SAMUEL M. SALTERS, *J. P.*

Territory of Kansas, County of Leavenworth:

The undersigned, judges and clerks of the election for State officers and members of the State Legislature, held at the precinct known as Delaware Agency, on the 4th day of January, A. D. 1858, do hereby certify that the returns made by us of said election are correct and genuine, and that any statement made by any person as to the vote of said precinct can only be determined as to its truth or falsity by a reference to said returns, made by us as managers and clerks of said election at said precinct.

ISAAC MUNDY,
THEODORE F. GARNETT, } *Judges.*
JAMES C. GRINTER,
W. C. WILSON,
JAMES FINDLEY, } *Clerks.*

Territory of Kansas, County of Johnson:

Before me, Samuel Salters, an acting justice of the peace in and for the county and Territory aforesaid, personally appeared Isaac Mundy, Theodore F. Garnett, James C. Grinter, William C. Wilson, and James Findley, who, being sworn, deposeth and saith that the foregoing statement is true, to the best of their knowledge and belief.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 18th day of January, A. D. 1858.

SAMUEL M. SALTERS, *J. P.*

In these copies the names T. F. Garrett, Isaac Mundee, and James Findlay, are all misspelled, (we have here spelt them correctly,) and one of the initial letters of the name of the magistrate is omitted in each of the certificates.

But the affidavits themselves are of no consequence, as they do not controvert anything which had been previously stated. That purporting to come from Mr. Garrett, if genuine, may merely allude to a proposal made to him to prepare a correct poll-list, with which to confute the fraudulent one which was sought by those who held him in duress. The other certificate is deficient, in not stating the number of votes received and returned by the persons whose names it bears, and who were never charged with having made any other than true returns. The charge was and still is, that the returns were altered and falsified whilst on their way to Mr. Calhoun, and after they had gone out of the possession of the judges of the election.

A correspondent of the New York *Times*, writing on board the U. S. steamer San Jacinto, at Hong Kong, December 15, says:

"I regret to have to record the death, on the 13th, of James A. Gates gunner in the United States navy, and attached at the time of his death to the United States ship Portsmouth. Mr. Gates's loss will be severely felt on his ship, as he was a most efficient officer and an estimable man. His residence was Washington, D. C. He leaves a wife to mourn his loss. His merits as an officer and a man were testified to this day by a large attendance of the officers and men of the United States squadron at his funeral, who also did not fail during the weary days of his illness, and the struggles of his dying hour, to show unto him every kindness, and to smooth his pathway to the tomb. Poor Gates! after life's fitful fever, and a short sojourn in this weary, weary land, you sleep well. Peace to your memory, and peace be with those who were near and dear to you."

Willing to Wound, yet afraid to Strike.

The following despatch to the *Herald* is significant.:

"The Wabash, late flag ship of the home squadron, has been ordered to be put out of commission, and prepared as flag ship of the Mediterranean squadron. The officers have been detached, and the crew will be discharged."

Does this mean that Commodore Paulding has also been put out of commission for disturbing the plans of the Ostend philanthropists? The Administration, not daring to recall Paulding, have recalled his ship, which will have the same effect, without entailing, they suppose, the same responsibilities. It may be that our suspicions do the President injustice in this instance, but we are constrained to say that his course for the past four months has destroyed all presumptions in favor of a manly, just, and statesman-like course being pursued by his Administration on any public question.—*New York Post.*

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,

FIRST SESSION.

Wednesday, February 17, 1858.

SENATE.

United States Protectorate.—Mr. Houston called up for consideration the resolution submitted by him yesterday.

Mr. Wilson called for the reading of the resolution; which was read, as follows:

"Whereas the events connected with the numerous efforts of the people of Mexico and the Central America of this continent, to establish and maintain order and good government, since their separation from the mother country, have so far resulted in failure and consequent anarchy, and demonstrated to the world the inability of said people to effect an object alike so desirable and so indispensable to their welfare and prosperity; therefore,

"*Resolved*, that the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into and report to the Senate upon the expediency of the Government of the United States declaring and maintaining an efficient protectorate over the States of Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and San Salvador, in such form and to such an extent as shall be necessary to secure to the people of said States the blessings of good and stable republican government."

Mr. Wilson characterized the resolution as very extraordinary in its nature. To his mind, it seemed calculated to foster that spirit of filibustering so rife in the country, and which had been so eloquently denounced on a former occasion by that Senator.

Mr. Houston held filibustering in as much contempt as ever he did, and professed the object of the resolution to be rather to suppress than foster it. He adverted to the present unsettled condition of those countries; that since their separation from the mother country they had sought to establish a Government on the same basis as our own; and yet, since that period, he believed there had been some twenty-five revolutions, ending in despotisms worse than had been suffered under the old *regime*; that these States were our neighbors, and that the commerce between us bid fair to be valuable in a commercial point of view; and that, as an act of policy and humanity, it became our duty to exercise such protection as would secure to them the blessings of a popular freedom and a conservative government.

Mr. Toombs contended that the resolution foreshadowed the true policy of this Government in relation to those States. He would not now go into the subject, but, when the proper time arrived, he would be prepared to vindicate it, as eminently worthy the consideration of the American people.

Mr. Mason deemed the resolution as one even calculated to be regarded as an indignity by Republics with whom we are at peace and amity, and contended that the idea of referring such a document to the Committee on Foreign Relations would be to offer an insult to them, as intimating that they were unable to take care of themselves.

Mr. Houston held that the Committee on Foreign Relations was the appropriate committee to investigate and report on the subject.

Mr. Hale desired to amend the resolution by adding the following:

"And whereas a state of colonial dependency is not calculated to illustrate the theory and practice of popular sovereignty and perfect freedom, said committee is instructed to extend the same inquiries to the Canadas and the other British possessions on *our* continent."

Mr. Mason moved to lay the resolution and amendment on the table; which was agreed to.

Increase of the Army.—The Senate then proceeded to consider the bill to increase the military establishment of the United States.

Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, offered another substitute, proposing to employ a force of four thousand volunteers, who should be engaged for the specific purpose of quelling the rebellion in Utah, and who should be disbanded at the completion of the campaign.

Mr. Johnson then proceeded, in an earnest speech, to advocate the adoption of his measure, which he thought more correspondent with the avowed wishes and objects of the Administration than was that reported by the Committee on Military Affairs. He commenced by protesting his invincible opposition to the theory and existence of standing armies, and the present seemed to him a most inopportune time to propose any permanent addition to the military establishment of the country. Instead of increasing our expenditures, we should rather be seeking to restrain and curtail them. The Democratic party was properly held responsible for any extravagance which might be committed in the matter of appropriations. These appropriations had already increased to an alarming amount, and in an alarming progression. The Democratic party had always professed to be in favor of an economical administration of the Government, and he thought it was time for it to redeem its pledges to the country.

Mr. Chandler moved to strike out the fourth section of the bill, and the debate was continued until four o'clock, P. M. It was participated in by Messrs. Chandler, Pugh, Seward, Wilson, Iverson, Stuart, Houston, and others; when, without taking the question, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

The House resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on Elections, on the contested election case from the fourth Congressional district of Maryland.

The pending question was a motion by Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, to lay on the table his motion to reconsider the vote by which the main question was ordered to be put.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the motion prevailed—yeas 90, nays 68.

The yeas and nays were then taken on the amendment proposed by Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, to submit the resolution reported by the minority, which empowers the Committee on Elections to send for persons and papers, and examine witnesses in the case.

The amendment was lost—yeas 86, nays 110.

The question recurred on the following resolution, reported by the majority of the committee:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to grant the prayer of the memorialist for the appointment of a committee to take testimony.

The resolution was adopted.

The Indian Appropriation Bill.—The House went into Committee of the Whole, (Mr. Hopkins, of Virginia, in the chair.)

The House invalid pension bill was laid aside, with a recommendation that it be laid on the table, the House having passed the Senate bill.

The Committee then took up the bill making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with the various Indian tribes, for the year ending 30th June, 1859.

Mr. J. G. Jones, of Pennsylvania, remarked that they had reached the middle of February, and still had nine appropriation bills on the calendar, ready for the action of the House.

Mr. Atkins, of Tennessee, then obtained the floor, and proceeded to address the Committee in advocacy of the admission of Kansas as a State into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution.

He denied that the people of Kansas would have a right to change their Constitution in any other way than the legally-prescribed mode. If the South embraced that doctrine, it might hereafter be a poisoned chalice commended to their own lips. Those who made the Lecompton Constitution were the legal people of Kansas, and their opponents were rebels and outlaws. Law was the shield and protection of the minority in this Government; the majority could always take care of themselves. Upon this principle it was provided that in the Senate small States should be represented as fully as large ones. If the people of a State had a right to overturn their Government without regard to law, then the people of the United States had the same right to overturn the Constitution, and build up a different structure; and these latter-day saints and patriots would have no great regard for the rights of the minority in so doing. The practice of the Government had not been to require an enabling act; only nine States now in the Union came in under Constitutions thus formed.

Mr. A. condemned the course of certain politicians in Tennessee, who had denounced the action of the Lecomptonites, and dissuaded Southern people from emigrating to Kansas with their slaves, by representing that it was not suitable for slave labor; and if they went there, it would be at the risk of losing their property. He believed the country was as well adapted to slave labor as Missouri, and there was as little danger of the abduction or escape of slaves as in some of the older slave States. Kansas had been unfortunate in its Governors, and its Governors had been unfortunate in Kansas. Its soil seemed to have tinctured them with Abolitionism. Yet, through fire and storm, Kansas had come out with a Pro-Slavery Constitution. She had conformed to the law; and how could Democrats, the friends of popular sovereignty and State equality, refuse her admission?

The mission of the Kansas-Nebraska act was to efface the black line of the Missouri compromise, which placed one-half the Confederacy under the ban of inequality; and the result of that act was the Lecompton Constitution. The opposition to this measure was one of the signs in the Northern political horizon, which admonished the South of her impending fate. It had been urged that Slavery in Kansas was an abstraction; but if the North started back at an abstraction, how would it be if a Territory with Slavery indisputably established was knocking for admission? If they were alarmed at shadows, how would they be affected by the substance? The "Black Republicans" of the North had inscribed on their banners, "No more slave States," and now the South ought to stand by Kansas, and never desert her, though they marched through fire and blood. They would no sooner submit to an insult than to a blow. They remembered it was an abstraction which created the Revolution. The equilibrium between the Northern and Southern States had passed away; and if Kansas was refused upon the policy of "no more slave States," truly the evil day was at hand, when Southern men must look to themselves for protection and relief, and it would not require a prophet to foretell the end of this proud Republic.

The Republican party had no business with Slavery. Its extension would not add to the number of slaves; therefore, their opposition was not based upon humanity; and the inference was, that they desired, by restricting the institution, to force the South into a war of races. The people of the North were deluded by demagogues; but their commercial men, through their intercourse with the South, came generally to understand that Slavery is the normal condition of the negro. If slave labor were stricken down, it would bring ruin upon the North, and the cry of the starving working men would then be, "Blood and Bread!"

They had been told that Central America must be Americanized by the Anti-Slavery Emigrant Aid Societies. Abolitionism would deny an outlet to Slavery, while claiming it for themselves. But it would be found that New England men could not endure labor under that burning sun; and if Yankees went there, it would only be to live under the shadow of the institution of Slavery. The South must see to it that neither New England nor Abolitionism was allowed to interfere with their rights, either in Central America, Mexico, Cuba, or any other lands in that direction. Let it be the work of the South to Americanize those regions, which were the natural and geographical sphere for the extension of her own peculiar institutions.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, said it was desirable that they should have a distinct understanding of the conflict in which they were engaged. It was not a sectional strife at all, and the terms "North" and "South" were misapplied in designating the parties engaged. There was nothing to array the North against the South, or the South against the North; on the other hand, there was everything to bind them together; and if anything seemed to array one section against the other, let it be brought to the altar of patriotism, and sacrificed. The conflict was between Freedom and Slavery—between the principles of liberty and despotism. The great mistake had been in identifying the South with Slavery and slaveholding; and it arose from the fact that a small class in the South imagined that they were the South. If they and their institution were to be annihilated, there would still be a South. If the slaves and their masters were swallowed up together, the non-slaveholders of the South would be greatly benefited. There would still be a South, and a South regenerated and jubilant.

He agreed with the extremists of the South, that if they had the right of property in human beings, they had a right to take them to Kansas; but he denied that doctrine, which had neither the sanction of natural or revealed religion, nor of the Constitution. It was a new dogma, entirely unknown to the fathers of the Republic. The demon of Slavery had left its lair, to hurl its blasphemies abroad, ravaging upon the rights of men; and now the Democratic party were bowing down to it, and endeavoring to make it the supreme dictator on this continent.

Mr. L. proceeded to show that Slavery was contrary to the dictates of Christianity and the natural instincts of the human conscience; and then contended that there was no article, line, word, or syllable, in the Constitution of the United States, which sanctioned in the remotest degree the idea of property in a human being. He quoted from the writings of a contemporaneous statesman in support of this view. Under the modern construction of the Constitution, no more free States could be admitted at all; and the issue was, whether this whole country should hereafter be the home of Freedom, or the lair of Slavery. He proceeded to argue that the Constitution was Anti-Slavery in its form and spirit; that under it Slavery could not be extended to Kansas, or any other Territory; and concluded by portraying the glorious future awaiting this country, if the policy of the non-extension of Slavery prevails, and a grand and glorious brotherhood of free and sovereign Republics is established all over the continent.

Mr. Shorter next obtained the floor, when the Committee rose.

At five minutes before four o'clock, the House adjourned.

Thursday, February 18, 1858.

SENATE.

Mr. Green, from the Committee on Territories, to which was referred the message of the President of the United States, communicating the Constitution of Kansas as a State, adopted by the Convention assembled at Lecompton, submitted a report, accompanied by a bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union.

This bill provides that Kansas shall be declared a State, and admitted on an equal footing with the original States, defines the boundaries, and goes on to say that she is admitted upon the express condition that the State shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the public lands, or with any regulations that Congress may see fit to make for selling the title of said lands to *bona fide* purchasers and grantees, &c.; and, further, that until the next general census shall be taken, and an apportionment made, the State shall be entitled to one Representative in the House of Representatives.

The report is somewhat voluminous, and the reporter can only give a small extract from the close.

"The committee do not approve the ordinance accompanying the Constitution, and report against its allowance; that they do not regard it as any part of the Constitution, nor will its approval or disapproval by Congress affect the validity of that Constitution, if the State be admitted into the Union as recommended.

"In conclusion, this committee is of opinion, that when a Constitution of a newly-formed State, created out of our own Territory, is presented to Congress for admission into the Union, it is no part of the duty or privilege of Congress either to approve or disapprove the Constitution itself, and its various provisions, or any of them, but simply to see whether it be the legal Constitution of the new State, whether it be republican in form, whether the boundaries proposed be admissible, and whether the number of inhabitants be sufficient to justify independent State organization.

"Believing that the paper presented is the legal Constitution of Kansas, that it is republican in its form, that the boundaries proposed by it are admissible, and conceding the sufficiency of its population, the committee recommend the admission of Kansas into the Union upon the Constitution presented, and report a bill accordingly."

Mr. Douglas desired, at the same time, to submit his views, as dissenting from the report of the committee; which were sent to the Chair.

This document is not less voluminous than the report of the committee. It argues on the basis that the Constitution was not an act of the people of Kansas, and does not embody their will; that the Convention was not clothed with competent power to establish a Constitution without the consent of Congress, which has been in this case expressly withheld; and hence that the Convention had only such power as the Territorial Legislature could rightfully confer, which was to form a Constitution, and send it to Congress as a memorial for admission into the Union, which could be accepted or rejected, according as it embodied the popular will; that all the proceedings of the Convention should have been held in strict obedience to the authority of the Territorial Government, while, in fact, it was declared to be in force in absolute defiance of the Territorial Government, as well as without the consent of Congress; that the only lawful election held on the adoption of the Constitution was that of the 4th of January, 1858, which was in obedience to a law of the Territorial Legislature.

Mr. Collamer also submitted the views of the minority in another document, quite voluminous, though not as much so as its predecessors, signed by himself and Mr. Wade, the closing paragraph of which is as follows:

"This Lecompton Constitution and its adoption was concocted and executed to supersede the triumph of justice. To admit it by Congress is but to give success to fraud and encouragement to iniquity, and to turn over that people, not to an election fairly and legally conducted, but to such State officers and legislators as said Calhoun shall hereafter proclaim, and on such contingency as he shall determine; and his long mysterious and inexcusable indecision and reserve, but encourages expectations in both parties, one of which is certainly doomed to disappointment."

These reports, with the dissentient opinions of the minority, were ordered to be printed, Mr. Green giving notice that, as soon as that was accomplished, he should take some early day to call them up.

On motion by Mr. Wilson.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to inform the Senate whether any officer of the civil service of the United States in the Territory of Kansas are absent from their posts in said Territory, and, if so, the reason therefor.

Mr. Foot called up the resolution submitted by him on the 10th instant, in relation to a plan for the accommodation of reporters in the eastern gallery; which, after explanation by Mr. Foot, was agreed to.

Increase of the Army.—The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill to increase the military establishment of the United States, when the question was taken on striking out the 4th section, and decided in the affirmative, by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bell, Cameron, Chandler, Collamer, Crittenden, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Gwin, Hale, Houston, Hunter, Mason, Seward, Simmons, Stuart, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, Wade, and Wilson—24.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Biggs, Bigler, Bright, Brown, Clay, Evans, Fitch, Green, Hamlin, Hammond, Harlan, Iverson, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Jones, Mallory, Polk, Pugh, Sebastian, Slidell, Thompson of Kentucky, and Wright—23.

A protracted debate then ensued, as to the relative merits of the various amendatory propositions, in which Messrs. Johnson of Tennessee, Hunter, Hale, Gwin, Simmons, Iverson, Seward, Biggs, and Brown, participated, when the Senate, after resisting several motions to adjourn, finally, at a few minutes before five o'clock, adjourned, on a call of the yeas and nays, by a vote of 27 to 16.

HOUSE.

The Indian Appropriation Bill.—The House went into Committee of the Whole, (Mr. Hopkins, of Virginia, in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill.

Mr. Shorter, of Alabama, addressed the Committee on the subject of Kansas, and called attention to certain resolutions of his State, to the effect that if Kansas is refused admission under the Lecompton Constitution, a State Convention shall be held immediately, to consider what course shall be adopted. He was aware that the right of State secession was denied; but let Alabama once declare in her sovereign capacity that she is no longer a member of this Confederacy, and her sons would be prepared to defend her in the forum or the field.

There were two parties in his State, the Secession and the Union parties, and the struggle between them had been long and warm. They finally acceded to the compromise measures, but were pledged to the Georgia platform, so called, and would consider the rejection of Kansas as a measure calling for a dissolution of the Union. Kansas was before them with a Constitution legally adopted and republican in form, and the only true ground of opposition to her admission was, that her Constitution recognised Slavery. There were special pleas interposed by a portion of the National Democracy, but they were all groundless. He respected more the bold and manly opposition of the Free-Soilers, on the ground of Slavery. He defied them, and bade them "Lay on, Macduff."

He contended that if Kansas was refused admission into the Union, she would then be an independent, sovereign State, outside of the Union.

He was not at all surprised at the opposition of the Republican party, but he was overcome with astonishment at the sudden defection of a portion of the Northern wing of the National Democracy, who pledged themselves at Cincinnati to vote for the admission of Kansas, with or without Slavery, as its Constitution might determine. He believed that it was never intended by the North to admit Kansas with Slavery. The Administration had appointed all its Governors from the North, and all Free-Soilers, up to the great Southern traitor, Robert J. Walker; and all the efforts of Government had been aimed at sacrificing Southern rights in that Territory upon the altar of party. If it be true that the admission of Kansas would light the fires of civil war, he for one would let them burn, though the Union should fall in the conflagration. He would rather see the South "in the deep bosom of the ocean buried," than to see her remain in the Union as the captive of the North, her rights trampled upon, and her institutions perpetually warred against. He would prefer to see the South a captive of Old England than of New England. If the Lecompton Constitution were sent back to the people of Kansas, it would be inviting civil war. The tramp of armed men would again be heard in Kansas, her streams would run blood, and Lawrence might again become a smoking ruin. If Kansas were admitted, the South would gain nothing to which she was not clearly entitled; and if rejected, the Democratic party would go down forever. He trusted that Alabama would take no step backward, but would become the nucleus of a great Southern Confederacy.

He had a sovereign contempt for the memory of the Pilgrim fathers. The religion of Plymouth Rock was hypocrisy and fanaticism—a religion whose ministers violated the 7th commandment in going to and from their evening lectures, and, when exposed, were feted and caressed by the fairer portion of the community. He was glad the Yankees were in a tight place, as had been stated by the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Thayer,] and hoped the South would keep them there. He denied, however, that slaveholding was necessary to secure social position in the South, and asserted that they had in the South only an aristocracy—namely, the aristocracy of color and race—of the white man over the negro, the Circassian over the African.

Mr. Zollicoffer, of Tennessee, took occasion to reply to the remarks of Mr. Hatch, of New York, in relation to the treasonable oaths and obligations of the Know-Nothing or American party.

Mr. Tompkins, of Ohio, spoke in opposition to the Lecompton Constitution, and against Slavery generally. The North had never submitted quietly to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and never would. He agreed with the gentleman from Alabama, that the contest between Freedom and Slavery had begun, and responded to his defiance. The repeal of the Missouri compromise had removed all obligations resting upon Northern men to consent to the admission of slave States, and he held himself perfectly free to oppose the extension of Slavery in any and every direction.

He then enumerated the civil and social evils of Slavery, giving these as his reasons for opposing its extension. He next spoke of the wrongs and outrages suffered by the Free State settlers of Kansas; whom he only blamed for not more readily opposing force by force. They would have been justified before God and man in hanging by the neck the usurpers who were engaged in framing laws to be forced upon them by a corrupt Administration, wielding the power of Federal bayonets. If the Lecompton Constitution should pass, he predicted that the people of the North would rise and sweep away the Democratic party and Slavery together.

Mr. Clemens, of Virginia, remarked, that in point of fact the President of the United States was upon his trial before Congress and the country. The President was a man more sinned against than sinning, and he would not submit to see him wounded in the house of his friends. He then proceded to defend the Kansas policy of the Administration. The President had done his duty in the crisis magnanimously and fearlessly, and appealed to Northern men to stand by him, sacrificing party to patriotism, and sectional prejudices to principle and right. Oregon, Washington, Minnesota, and Nebraska, were already secure to the North, and Kansas must be theirs eventually; surely, then, they might concede to the South the meagre principle, the barren sceptre, for which they contended.

Mr. Burroughs, of New York, obtained the floor, when the Committee rose.

At five minutes before four o'clock the House adjourned.

Friday, February 19, 1858.

SENATE.

Private Bills.—Mr. Wade moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of private bills on the calendar; which motion was agreed to with great unanimity, and the Senate took up and passed several bills, among others,

A bill to amend the "Act to incorporate the Columbia Institution for the instruction of the deaf, dumb, and blind," approved February 16, 1857.

The vote was taken by yeas and nays, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 27, nays 10.

The Vice President announced the special order, being the bill for the increase of the military establishment of the United States; but, on motion, the subject was postponed until Tuesday next, on the ground that the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs was desirous to close the debate, and to reply to some strictures wherein he thought he had been unjustly assailed.

The Senate then proceeded with the private calendar, and then adjourned to Tuesday.

HOUSE.

Mr. Hoard, of New York, said he rose to a question of privilege, and caused to be read a letter from Mr. Burns, of Ohio, addressed to himself, to the effect that he (Mr. H.) took occasion on Friday last to lay before the House an anonymous paragraph from the New York *Tribune*, containing a false and foul slander against him, (Mr. B.,) of a nature which, if true, would disqualify him (Mr. B.) from holding his seat; that he (Mr. H.) refused to endorse the falsehood; that it was his duty to investigate the matter, if he suspected him (Mr. B.) to be guilty of the offence charged; and that if he found him to be innocent, it would also be his duty to rise in his place and set him (Mr. B.) right before the House.

Mr. H. said he wished to respond to that letter.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, said it was not a question of privilege, and he objected.

So did Messrs. Florence and Burnett.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on the private calendar, (Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, in the chair;) and, after the transaction of a little business, the Committee rose.

Mr. Hatch, of New York, asked unanimous consent to make a personal explanation.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, said he would object to any personal explanation from that side, unless the objection to an explanation by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Hoard] was withdrawn. Subsequently he withdrew the objection, understanding that the objection to Mr. Hoard's explanation had been withdrawn.

Mr. Hatch proceeded to reply to some remarks of Mr. Zollicoffer, concerning Know Nothing oaths, &c.

After a brief discussion, Mr. Hoard rose to a personal explanation; but

Mr. Burnett moved that the House adjourn; which was lost—57 to 87.

After repeated attempts of Administration members to prevent action,

Mr. Hoard sent to the Chair a question of privilege:

"Whereas a statement has been made by a member of this House, importing that the Hon. Mr. Burns, of Ohio, had stated to him, in a conversation on the subject of his vote on the resolution of the Hon. Mr. Harris, of Illinois, to commit to a select committee the President's message on the Kansas question, that he was to have certain official patronage or appointments to office at his disposal; and whereas the Hon. Mr. Burns had previously been free in his avowal of sentiments with which his vote on that occasion was in conflict, thus furnishing ground to suspect that some improper influence had been exerted to bias the said member's official action as a member of this House.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed by the Speaker, to inquire and investigate whether any improper attempts have been or are being made, directly or indirectly, by any person connected with the Executive Department of this Government, or by any other person, with their advice or consent, to influence the action of any member of this House upon any question or measure upon which the House has acted, or which it has under consideration, with power to send for persons and papers, and leave to report at any time, by bill or otherwise."

Mr. H. was proceeding to address the House; when

Mr. Burnett called him to order, alleging that a private letter could not be made a subject of debate, and that the preamble and resolution did not raise a question of privilege.

The Speaker said, in accordance with precedents, he would submit the question to the House in this wise: "Shall the resolution be received and entertained, on the ground that the privileges of the House are involved?"

This question being debatable, Mr. Hoard was entitled to the floor.

Mr. Hoard said the letter read in the morning, although dated yesterday, was received by him the night before, and he yesterday endeavored to obtain the floor to reply to it. He was informed that after the vote on Mr. Harris's resolution, Mr. Burns, of Ohio, having voted against it, stated to a member of the House that certain Executive patronage or appointments to office were at his disposal. This admission he made, upon being inquired of as to how he came to give such a vote. In calling the attention of the House to the subject out of which Mr. Burns's letter grew, he was actuated by no feeling of unkindness either towards Mr. Burns, whom he did not even know by sight, or any one else. He believed the Executive Department were endeavoring to influence members improperly, and would not consent to be diverted from the real issue by any attempts to make it a personal matter.

The prerogatives and independence of the House were involved, and it was in his judgment essential that the House should institute an investigation, in order that those implicated might have an opportunity to clear themselves of suspicion, and the House might assert its rights and independence. He would have felt himself bound to make reparation for any currency he had given these reports, but, so far as he could learn, the charges were well founded. The honor of the House and justice to its members demanded an investigation of the facts in this and similar cases that might come to light, and he hoped the House would agree to the resolution he had offered. The Administration was in the majority in the House, and with them rested the responsibility whether the investigation should be allowed or smothered.

Mr. Taylor, of New York, moved that the House adjourn.

Mr. Burnett asked that that motion be withdrawn, and promised to renew it.

The charge at best only amounted to an admission to some unknown honorable gentleman upon that floor, that he was to have the control of some Executive appointment. He might have said that, or the member who reported it might have misunderstood him. It was a reported conversation, the weakest kind of evidence known to the law; and on the other side stood the assertion of an honorable member, entitled to credit, that it was false and slanderous. The gentleman from New York made himself the accuser, but declined to take the responsibility. He would shield himself, while making another party the victim.

In conclusion, Mr. Burnett moved that the House adjourn, which motion prevailed; and accordingly, at ten minutes past four o'clock, the House adjourned till Tuesday next.

Grand Trip to the East.

Some gentlemen of this city have arranged a plan for one of the most interesting voyages ever made. The steamer Ericsson is to be chartered, to leave New York May 1, touch at Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, Jaffa, Constantinople, Athens, and Naples, returning to New York about the first of August. She will remain at Alexandria long enough for the party to go to Cairo and see the Pyramids, and will lie at Jaffa two weeks, for a visit to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. It is proposed to take tents and equipage from America, to secure perfect comfort to ladies, and all the party, in the Holy Land. The party is to consist of 150 persons, to which number it is limited; and the steamer fare for each person is $750. This includes board on the steamer in all the ports. All additional expenses are estimated to be within $150. So that for $900 one may see all the most interesting points in the Orient, and, above all, spend two weeks in Jerusalem. This is the cheapest and most delightful way of seeing the East that could be invented; and it only remains to be seen whether there are a hundred and fifty people who will form the party. The list is rapidly filling up, and some of our well-known citizens, clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and authors, have already taken places for the voyage.—*N. Y. Observer.*

PREPARE FOR THE FALL ELECTIONS.

The Republican Association of Washington have just completed arrangements for publishing and distributing Tracts, Essays, Speeches, bearing upon the important question now agitating the country.

Most of the Speeches delivered in Congress during the present session by the Republican members, and also those that may hereafter be delivered, can be had, enveloped and *free of postage*, at 75 cents per 100 for eight-page, and $1.25 per 100 for sixteen-page Speeches.

They will also be directed, without additional expense, to such names as may be forwarded.

Our Republican friends ought to take immediate steps to flood every Congressional district and especially districts now represented by Democrats, with these Speeches and Documents. Address L. CLEPHANE,

Secretary Republican Association.

A Sure Cure for a Felon.—When the soreness first commences, or even when far advanced, it can be relieved and entirely cured by holding the finger or part afflicted in Perry Davis's Pain Killer for an half an hour. It has been thoroughly tested, and proves a never-failing remedy. 1

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A Remedy that Cures.—When suffering from any disease of the throat or lungs, rest assured that speedy relief can be obtained by using Dr. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry. Its success in such cases is unparalleled. 48

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, February 23, 1858.

Flour, Howard Street	$4.37 @ 4.50
Flour, City Mills	4.37 @ 5.50
Rye Flour	3.00 @ 3.25
Corn Meal	3.25 @ 0.00
Wheat, white	1.08 @ 1.15
Wheat, red	1.02 @ 1.06
Corn, white	55 @ 58
Corn, yellow	55 @ 57
Rye, Pennsylvania	70 @ 00
Rye, Virginia	65 @ 00
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	28 @ 33
Oats, Pennsylvania	35 @ 00
Clover Seed	5.00 @ 5.12½
Timothy Seed	2.50 @ 2.75
Hay, Timothy	15.00 @20.00
Hops	7 @ 14
Potatoes, Mercer	1.30 @ 1.40
Bacon, Shoulders	7¾@ 8
Bacon, Sides	9½@ 9¾
Bacon, Hams	10 @ 11
Pork, Mess	16.50 @00.00
Pork, Prime	13.00 @00.00
Beef, Mess	17.00 @17.25
Lard, in barrels	10 @ 00
Lard, in kegs	10¾@ 11
Wool, Unwashed	00 @ 00
Wool, Washed	00 @ 00
Wool, Pulled	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00 @ 00
Wool, Choice Merino	00 @ 00
Butter, Western, in kegs	12½@ 14
Butter, Roll	16 @ 00
Cheese	9½@ 10
Coffee, Rio	10½@ 10¾
Coffee, Java	18 @ 17¾

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, February 23, 1858

Flour, State brands	$4 50 @ 4 35
Flour, State brands, extra	4.40 @ 4.60
Flour, Western	4.25 @ 4.30
Flour, Southern	4.75 @ 5.00
Rye Flour	3.00 @ 4.00
Corn Meal	3 50 @ 3.00
Wheat, white	1.22 @ 0.00
Wheat, red	1.10 @ 0.00
Corn, white	71 @ 70
Corn, yellow	70 @ 69
Rye	72½ @ 71
Oats	45 @ 46
Clover Seed	8.50 @ 8.75
Timothy Seed	2.25 @ 2 50
Hay	65 @ 75
Hops	4 @ 7
Bacon, Shoulders	8½@ 8¾
Bacon, Sides	10 @ 00
Bacon, Hams	6¾@ 6⅝
Pork, Mess	16.95 @16.50
Pork, Prime	13.00 @13.10
Beef	9.00 @10.00
Lard, in barrels	9½@ 10
Lard, in kegs	11 @ 00
Butter, Western	14 @ 16
Butter, State	14 @ 20
Cheese	6 @ 8
Coffee, Rio	10 @ 11
Coffee, Java	15½@ 16
Wool, Unwashed	00 @ 00
Wool, Washed	00 @ 00
Wool, Pulled	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00 @ 00
Iron, Scotch, Pig	28.00 @28.50
Lime, Rockland	1.20 @ 0.00
Lime, common	65 @ 00

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The Editor of the *International Journal* says: "Of all the specifics offered for the cure of Lung Complaints, we have the greatest faith in *Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry* Free from those narcotic ingredients which enter so largely into the composition of some other patent medicines, it acts without injury to the Nervous System. We speak of this valuable medicine from *personal knowledge* of its effects. Scarcely two years have elapsed since a member of our family *was raised from the very brink of the grave* through its use; and in several subsequent cases, where it has been administered in our household, it has never once failed of the desired effect. We cheerfully commend it to our friends in the British Provinces, and among the 'rest of mankind,' as a certain remedy for Incipient Diseases of the Lungs."

☞ None genuine, unless signed I. BUTTS on the wrapper. 48

FROM THE CLERGY.

Rev. J. G. Stearns writes: "I consider it the best remedy I ever knew for Dyspepsia."

The late Rev. Dr. Granger repeatedly expressed his belief that he owed his life to the timely use of Perry Davis's Pain Killer. During his recent visit to the Missions in Burmah, he had a severe attack of the CHOLERA, and was immediately relieved by its use.

Rev. A. Webster, Editor of the *Christian Era*, writes: "I have used your Pain Killer for many years, in my family, with much satisfaction."

Rev. J. Phillips, formerly of the Orissa Mission, India, writes: "My wife is using your celebrated Pain Killer for a rheumatic affection, from which she has suffered for years, and with better effect than any other of the various remedies she has tried; I am using it for dyspepsia and kidney complaints, with good success."

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THE NORTH-AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLXXVIII, for January, 1858.

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[CONTINUED FROM THE FIRST PAGE.]

The President sent Governor Walker to the Territory with the promise, with the assurance, that the people should vote upon the Constitution. Governor Walker, in his letter of acceptance, says that he understands the President and the Cabinet to be committed to that policy. Governor Walker went to the Territory, and in his inaugural address promised the people that "unless the Convention submit *the Constitution* to the vote of all the actual resident settlers of Kansas, and the election be fairly and justly conducted, the Constitution *will be, and will ought to rejected by Congress*."

What was the effect of these declarations on the people? The people said, "the census has not been taken; the registry has not been honestly made; we shall be cheated, if we go the polls to elect delegates to this Convention. We do not wish to commit ourselves, and then be cheated and defrauded. We will let them elect their delegates to the Convention, frame their Constitution; and when they submit it to us, we will vote it down." That was the sentiment of the Free State men throughout the whole Territory, and all the evidence goes to show it. I know it to be so by my own personal experience in that Territory. I know it to be the sentiment of the leading men of the people.

We are now told by the President, that the reason why they did not vote was that they wanted to enforce their Topeka Constitution; that they wanted to frame laws and establish their rebellious Government! Sir, they had a Convention on the 9th of June, before the delegates were elected to the Lecompton Convention, and they voted, with only one solitary exception, against putting the laws framed under the Topeka Constitution in force. The people intended nothing of this kind; but they decided to elect their officers under the Topeka Constitution, to keep that Government alive for protection in the last resort, and then resolved to go into the October election under protest. They went into the October election, and carried the Legislature and Delegate to Congress.

Now, sir, I wish to call attention for a few moments to Governor Walker's course in regard to the October election frauds. The President quotes Governor Walker when he sustains his theory, but he does not quote him when Governor Walker's testimony goes to show that the people of Kansas have been cheated and defrauded. For promising that the people of the Territory should have the right to vote on their Constitution, Governor Walker was assailed in all the slave States. I think some Senators demanded that he should be removed. He was denounced throughout the Southern States by a class of public men and by a class of public journals for having promised that the people of Kansas should have a fair opportunity to vote for the adoption or rejection of the Lecompton Constitution. The Administration which gave him that assurance quailed beneath this denunciation from the slaveholding States. It changed its policy, abandoned Walker, and betrayed the people of Kansas.

When the October election came on, there were stupendous frauds perpetrated at Oxford and in McGee county. These fraudulent votes, if counted, would have settled the character of the Territorial Legislature. Governor Walker could not give his sanction to those frauds. What did he do? He investigated the frauds at Oxford, and the frauds in McGee county, and threw out the fraudulent votes. For that act, for throwing out these palpable frauds, for throwing out the list made up out of the Cincinnati Directory, in which it is said Governor Chase's name was included—for performing that act of justice, Governor Walker was assailed from one end of the Southern States to the other, by politicians and presses. Men who had sustained the invasion of the 30th of March, 1855, of four thousand nine hundred men from Missouri; men who had refused to investigate those frauds; men who had upheld the laws enacted by the Territorial Legislature; men who had sustained the use of the army in the Territory, and all the acts which have transpired in the Territory—these men denounced Governor Walker for throwing out frauds that prevented them, as they thought, from consummating the iniquity of dragging Kansas into the Union as a slave State.

We are told by the President that the people of Kansas have had a fair opportunity to vote on the Slavery question. I am surprised that the President of the United States has so little regard for the intelligence of the Senate and the country, and for his own reputation, as to make a declaration of that character. The people of Kansas had a fair opportunity, he tells us, to vote on the 21st of December last, for or against Slavery. Sir, they had no such opportunity; and the President of the United States, if he does not know it, ought to have known it. Both Constitutions were slave Constitutions. The slaves in the Territory, it was declared by the Lecompton Constitution, were property; and—

"The right of property in slaves now in the Territory shall in no manner be interfered with."

"No alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves."

These provisions went into your Constitution with no Slavery! There are about three hundred slaves in the Territory of Kansas. This Constitution with no Slavery recognises the existence of the right of property in those slaves, and declares that in no manner shall that property be interfered with. In any proposed amendment to the Constitution, we are told "that no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves." That was the Constitution with no Slavery.

Then we have the Constitution with Slavery; and I assure Senators that I am as ready to have your Lecompton Constitution with Slavery, as your Lecompton Constitution without Slavery. Your Constitution without Slavery recognised Slavery in the State, declared that it should never be interfered with, made it eternal. Such was the Constitution without Slavery. What a mockery is it to tell the people of Kansas that they had an opportunity to vote for or against making a slave State.

But we are now told by the President that we can change this Constitution before 1864. I have no doubt of that. I believe the people have the right to change their Constitution when they please, and just how they please. But what security have we that the men who have been retreating for the last ten years from the Wilmot proviso, down to the doctrine that Slavery exists in the Territories by the Constitution of the United States, as much as it exists in Georgia or South Carolina—what security have we that the President of the United States, that the Congress of the United States, that the Supreme Court of the United States, will not declare that this constitutional provision cannot be changed, that it is of binding force in the new State, and is eternal, beyond the reach of any law of that State, beyond the reach of the people? I know there are men in the country who have already proclaimed this to be true. You can find in the Southern presses the declaration that the people have no right to change it. It is held to be a sacred contract of binding force forever. If the slave-drivers of the South put their foot down, and demand that this shall be the accepted doctrine of the Administration and the Pro-Slavery Democratic party, the Administration and the Pro-Slavery Democratic party, with all the branches of authority, will adopt it as readily as they have adopted any of the monstrous heresies of the past. I have no faith in their promises or declarations. I have no faith in their promises or declarations. I know that this Administration came into being as the agent of the slave propagandism; that by them it lives, moves, and has its being; and without their support it would perish in one hour. Whenever the slave power makes a demand on this Administration, or on the Pro-Slavery Democratic party, that demand I know is first resisted by a portion of them in the North, but may be generally yielded to. No man can maintain his manhood, and continue to enjoy the confidence of the Africanized Democracy of this age.

If we had said, Mr. President, twelve years ago, that the Democratic party, which then, in both Houses of Congress, stood my here for the glorious doctrines of the Ordinance of 1787, would have retreated from that doctrine, and come down, down to the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States carries Slavery wherever it goes, all over the Territories; that wherever it goes, it carries chains and fetters for men—they would have justly regarded it as a libel upon them. They now go to that doctrine—and they cannot go further than they do go. They have only got to declare—and they have raised the question in the judicial tribunals of the country—that they may take their slaves *in transitu* through the free States, and then come to the final doctrine enunciated in the *Union* a few days ago, that those doctrines, legitimately carried out, would prevent the abolition of Slavery in the States by the States themselves. I believe the slaveholding interest will ultimately demand the right not only to carry their slaves into the Territories, and hold them there, but they will demand the right to carry their slaves *in transitu* through all the States, and then to set up the doctrine which we find in the Kansas Constitution, that slaves are property, that property is above all Constitutions and all laws, and that you have no right, by constitutional action, or any other action, to abolish Slavery in the States. Then we shall be an Africanized Republic.

The President tells us that the people of Kansas, on the 4th of January, by voting for the election of officers under the Lecompton Constitution, recognised its validity. If the people of Kansas refuse to vote, they are denounced as rebels that have no rights, and they are held to be bound by the will of those who do vote. If they do vote, then they recognise the validity of this Constitution. The President will not be satisfied with their action, any way. The Legislature, finding that this Constitution was not to be submitted to the people, assembled, and summoned the people to the ballot-box, on the 4th of January, to give their votes for or against the Constitution. By the provisions of that Constitution, there was an election to take place on that day. The Free State men went to the ballot-box, on the 4th of January, to blot out forever the Lecompton Constitution. They knew the people were against it by an overwhelming majority—of five or six to one. They meant to overthrow Calhoun and his subordinate minions in that Territory, who have violated law and justice, who have stained their names and lives by frauds and outrages. They meant not only to vote down the Constitution, but to crush out the men who were endeavoring to force it upon them. The only way to do that, was to elect men, pledged against the Constitution, and who would come here, as they already have done, and ask you, ask Congress, ask the country, to reject it as a fraud on the people. Yet this act, proclaimed to the country and to the world, the President of the United States misrepresents and perverts.

Sir, we have had enough of these petty quibbles in Congress, without expecting them to come from the other end of the avenue. We have had the pleading of technicalities, all the little technicalities and specialties put in on a great question of public policy. All the outrages in Kansas have been perpetrated under the color of law. Tyrants always rule under the color of law. Instead of asking "what is the opinion of the people?" "what do they want?"—instead of ascertaining what the public will is, we have had Senators, Representatives, and now we have the President, quibbling on technicalities and forms, by which the substance is to be lost to the people.

We have the evidence of Governor Reeder, of Governor Geary, of Governor Stanton, in a paper recently published, and of Governor Walker, that outrages and frauds have, from time to time, been perpetrated in the Territory of Kansas. Now we have before us the fruits of all these frauds and all those wrongs. Senators here object to their final consummation. The Senator from Illinois, [Mr. DOUGLAS,] who introduced the measure for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, who for four years has stood here, and before the country, as the champion, the acknowledged champion, of that policy—a man who, during the struggles of the last three or four years, has led here, as he had a right to lead, the supporters of this policy in the Territory of Kansas and in the country; asks that these frauds shall not triumph; that these wrongs shall not be finally consummated. He asks that the people of Kansas may have an opportunity to vote upon the Constitution, for or against, before admission into the Union; and because he has passed now, because he simply asks that the people shall have the right to vote in framing a Constitution for their own government, he is denounced from one end of the country to the other, by the supporters of the policy indicated by the President in this message. He has not uttered a word or written a line endorsing the views that we on this side of the Chamber hold on the question of Slavery; but because he now demands that the plighted faith of his party shall be redeemed, that the people shall have the right to vote on their own Constitution, he is hunted down in the Senate and in the country. Already he is branded in some sections of this Union as a Black Republican, or the ally of the Black Republicans. Black Republicanism seems now to be this: any man is a Black Republican who refuses to support the last iniquity, the last crowning act of infamy. No matter though his whole life has been devoted to the interests of Slavery; if he pauses now, if he refuses to allow Slavery to triumph by palpable frauds, he is to be crushed for that act, and to be read out of the Democratic party.

The Governor of Virginia—that Governor who was ready to dissolve the Union in 1856 if Fremont was elected, who was ready to call out his militia, and who boasted that they would "have the right to bear their arms" ... [that] he was ready to march through all opposing legions"—has pronounced these acts in Kansas "unveiled trickeries" and "shameless frauds," which the people of Virginia would scorn. For that declaration he is denounced in Virginia and throughout the country. You have had Reeder, Geary, Stanton, and Walker, sacrificed. Now you propose to sacrifice the distinguished Senator from Illinois, and the hardly less distinguished champion of the Pro-Slavery Democracy of the Old Dominion. You propose to drive everybody out of this Administration party who refuses to approve of this last iniquity, to make effective this last crime in the interests of Slavery.

I hope, Mr. President, the motion I have made to instruct the Committee on Territories to investigate everything connected with the formation of the Constitution of Kansas, will be adopted by the Senate. If Senators are disposed now, at this time, with all these frauds, all these wrongs, before this nation, to investigate, and be guided by the facts, the country will give them the credit of being actuated by a sense of justice. The one of this country is pained with the crimes and frauds that have been perpetrated in Kansas. No man, here or elsewhere, can doubt them for a moment. The voice of the people of Kansas comes here in a thousand ways, and asks us to reject the application, because it has been framed and carried through in violation of the public will.

I say, then, that if we reject this proposition to instruct the committee to go into a full and thorough investigation, it will be understood in Kansas and in the country, and throughout the world, that the Senate of the United States sanctions the frauds by which a Constitution, made by a small and contemptible minority, under the lead of Government officials, has been forced upon the people of Kansas, contrary to the clearest expressions of the popular will. If the Senate shall refuse to institute the most searching inquiry into all the matters concerning the formation of this Constitution, it will stand before the world, and go down to after ages, associated with the men who have, by violence and fraud, forced the accursed system of Slavery upon a reluctant people.

Remarks of Mr. Wilson, in Reply to Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, on the 4th of February, 1858.

Mr. WILSON. The Senator from Mississippi has told the Senate and the country that he loves old wine better than old speeches. I love old truths better than old wine. I was led to suppose, from the declaration of the Senator, that we were to have nothing old, stale, or threadbare, in his speech; that we were to have something original, fresh, racy, brilliant—something that was to thrill the Senate, charm the galleries, electrify the nation, and carry the Senator's name all over the country, to receive the admiration and applause of the people. I have listened to his speech, to his declarations, to his assertions, to his iteration of old errors, oft refuted in this Chamber and in the country; and I am sorry to admit that I have heard nothing new, original, or striking—nothing which the Senator might not have found in the speeches of his predecessors. There is one declaration, however, which seems to me to have something of originality about it. He told us that he did not expect to make any converts on this side of the Chamber. This modest avowal of his expectations brings to mind a couplet of Pope's, that we should

"In every work regard the writer's end,
For none can compass more than they intend."

After listening to the Senator's long and labored speech, I am sure that we shall all admit that he has not, in this case, compassed more than he intended. The Senator could hardly expect to win any converts on this side of the Chamber, to his principles or to his sentiments, by logic so often refuted, or by the iteration of palpable errors.

The Senator assured us that he approved of the President's message, but that he did not expect on this side of the Chamber to approve of it. I did expect him to approve it, and I am not disappointed; for the message is a complete and absolute public surrender, by the President of the United States, to the principles, the doctrines, the policy, and the sentiments, of the slaveholding propagandists of this country—of men who are now, and have been during the past few years, pursuing a policy looking to the ultimate triumph of the slaveholding interest in this country, or to the dissolution of this Republic, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, based on military principles.

The Senator supposed, he tells us, that we would not endorse these doctrines, because we were sectionalists—we were the sectional Republican party! Sir, what principle have we avowed, that is not incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the grand old Ordinance of 1787, which received the sanction of the framers of the Constitution, and the great national men of the Republic? What policy have we avowed, that has not received the sanction of Washington, of Jefferson, and of the great men of the country, North and South? I say to-day that we have not avowed a principle, declared a policy, or pronounced a sentiment, here or in the country, that has not received the sanction of the mightiest men of this Republic, from 1775 up to within the last few years. We have declared everywhere that Freedom is national; that the doctrines of human rights underlie our free democratic institutions; that all our institutions grow out of the absolute recognition of the equal rights of all men. We have maintained that in the Territories, under the national flag, Freedom is national; that the national Government has a right, under the protecting folds of the national flag, Freedom and free institutions for all men go where the flag of the Republic goes. We have acknowledged that the system of Slavery is nothing but a municipal institution, founded on State law, and limited to State lines. Such were the doctrines of the fathers of the Republic—of all the great statesmen who have associated their names with the liberty, honor, and renown, of the Republic.

There was a time when these sentiments and opinions were deemed national by the people of the country, and by the statesmen of the country, North and South. Repudiated, spurned, proscribed now by the Senator from Mississippi and his political associates, the time is not far distant when these sentiments and opinions of the fathers will again animate and guide the sons. To that dawning future we calmly appeal from the verdict of the Senator from Mississippi and his slave extending compeers.

Standing on these national doctrines, animated by these ideas and sentiments, we have not assumed to control the slaveholding States of this Union. We have recognised State rights, but we have claimed authority to save the Territories of this Republic forever to free men and to free institutions. Such was the sectionalism! If it is sectional, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe—all the great men of the past—were sectionalists. This charge of sectionalism comes with an ill grace, especially from the Senator from Mississippi. Eight years ago, in the other House, when California had framed a Constitution which had received the sanction of her whole people, organized a State Government, and came here and asked for admission, the Senator from Mississippi promptly took the floor, and resisted her admission, because it would disturb the equilibrium between the free and slave States of this Union!

Mr. BROWN. I have no objection to the Senator's stating his position, but I do object to his giving my reasons for it. I would rather do that myself. I did object to the admission of California into the Union, and I did it because her Constitution was not formed through any legal agency proceeding from Congress or anywhere else; because the Convention which made the Constitution was assembled upon the motion of a military Governor, not authorized to exercise over the country even civil control. He appointed the time, place, and manner, of holding the election. I thought it an irregularity so gross as not to be overlooked. I thought that was very much like the Dorr case, or the Brigham Young case.

Mr. WILSON. I will call the Senator's attention to one of his old speeches; and I commend him to the study of old speeches, especially his own. I like my old speeches, because I always intend they shall be so sound in principle, correct in sentiment, and accurate in facts, that I can refer to them with safety.

In the speech before me, the Senator from Mississippi, while he opposed the admission of California for the reasons he now states, opposed it also avowedly on the ground that it would destroy the balance between the free and the slave States. This doctrine of the balance between the North and the South came from the brain of Mr. John C. Calhoun. There is nothing national in it. It is a sectional idea, proclaimed in support of a sectional interest and a sectional institution. A balance between the North and the South! A balance between the seventeen millions of Northern freemen and the seven millions of Southern freemen! A balance between the majority and majority of the country! The whole doctrine is antidemocratic, is local, is sectional in all its aspects, and should be scouted from this Chamber and from this country, as a doctrine at war with our republican institutions and our republican ideas. But, sir, to the old speech of the Senator from Mississippi, and I commend him to the study of his old speech. He said:

"What, Mr. Chairman, is to be the effect of admitting California in to the Union as a State? Independent, sir, of all the objections I have been pointing out, it will effectually withdraw that sectional balance which has so long and happily existed between the two ends of the Union, and so give to the North that dangerous preponderance in the Senate, which ambitious politicians have so eagerly desired. The admission of our own State as California deserts the very far, and may be next seen, many more new free States that have grown and are hereafter to grow, the admission for New Mexico as a free State. The two will reach out their hands to Utah, and Utah will tell the stars, and the six, will give new sixth. Then preferred that with the dominion to rule them ... " ...

Here, sir, we have the declarations of the Senator from Mississippi, against the admission of the new State on the shores of the Pacific, because its admission would "unhinge the sectional balance between the two ends of the Union!" Yet the Senator, with this old speech of his on the record, rises here to read lectures to me—to denounce me as a sectionalist. Can assurance go farther?

Sir, the Senator "abominates old speeches," but I must call his attention to others avowed in this old speech of his:

"If my own opinion is this: that we should resist the introduction of California as a State, and resist it unconditionally, ... We can, at least, force an adjournment without her admission. ... This being done, we are safe. Our Southern States, in Convention at Nashville, will devise means for vindicating their rights."

That disunion Convention, which met, as Mr. Webster said, over the grave of Andrew Jackson, were to settle it. The Senator who wants it with being actuated by a sectional spirit, would throw California out of Congress, and appeal to the sectional, disunion Nashville Convention. This is a specimen of his nationality, and a fine specimen of national spirit it is:

"I do not know what these measures will be, but I know what they ought to be. We ought to let the California go ... We ought to say to every slave into all of Southern California, the property of every Georgia, State, and there hold them, as we have a right to do so; and if molested, defend them, as is we are the strength to do.

"We ask you to give us our rights by NON-INTERVENTION; if you refuse, I am for taking them by ARMED OCCUPATION."

Yes, sir, the Senator then was for keeping California out of the Union, going to a disunion sectional convention, and sending slaves to populate California, and defending them by force if the people there objected!

Now, the Senator says that I and those who act with me are sectionalists. I have referred to our principles and our policy, and I appeal to Senators on the other side of this Chamber to say if the Senators on this side, from the day they came here to this hour, have not, in all our legislation connected with the affairs of this country, looked over this broad land, and given our votes for your interests, for the interests of the South, as much as we have given them for the interests of the North? Senators, you know it! The records of the country prove it; and they contain, too, your confessions and admissions that it is so.

But the Senator from Mississippi says our policy tends to build up two great interests in the country; that we shall have a united North and a united South, and that this is to lead to a dissolution of the Union. The Senator now makes professions of devotion to the Union. In the speech from which I have quoted, the Senator says that, while we of the North have been making professions of devotion to the Union—

"Our people have been calculating the value of the Union. * * * I tell you candidly we have calculated the value of the Union. 'Love for the Union will not keep us in the Union.'"

He flippantly told us that they had "no fear" of the dissolution of the Union, and that the South could maintain its power. The whole tone, temper, and sentiment, of the speech, look not to the support of the Union as our fathers made it, but to the triumph of a sectional Southern policy, to the expansion of Slavery, to the domination of the Slave Power, or to the ultimate overthrow of the Government of this country.

I think there will soon be a general union in the North, as there is now in the South. We are fast coming to it; and let me tell the Senators on the Administration side of this Chamber, that if they continue, if they support—whether they succeed or fall—the bringing of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, with a knowledge of all these monstrous frauds scattered over the land, comprehended by the whole country, they will do more to unite all honest, liberty-loving, God-fearing men in the North, than has been accomplished by any act ever adopted by this Government. Your Kansas-Nebraska policy of 1854 strived to sustain this great Whig party which had battled, sometimes successfully, for power here, under the lead of some of the most accomplished statesmen of the country. Another party sprang up—the American party. It passed, it faltered, and it went down under the general judgment of the people of the free States. The Republican party rose in four years from a few thousand men, and gave at the last Presidential election one million three hundred and forty thousand votes. It came much nearer than you wished it to do, taking the control of this Government—of this country. Go on, gentlemen of the slaveholding States, in your avowed policy of Slavery expansion and Slavery supremacy, by forcing Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, against the known will of the people of that Territory, and their earnest appeals to your sense of justice, truth, and honor, and you will arouse the people of the North, already deeply incensed by your policy, by the violence and frauds your creatures have perpetrated in Kansas, to rise in the majesty of conscious power, thrust your subservient allies from power, take the Government, and overthrow forever you and your policy. I tell you here to-day, that your support of this gigantic crime against the liberties of the people of Kansas is bringing upon you the condemnation of the country and the world.

Sir, the people of the free States now comprehend your policy, and your purposes of Slavery expansion and Slavery domination, and they are preparing to baffle and defeat you. They will triumph. Doubt it not. The opinions they entertain, the policy they avow, the sentiments which swell their bosoms, are deepening and spreading all over this land. Those opinions and sentiments will unite the Northern people. They will spread over the slave line as they have done, for they have gone into Missouri; they have brought into the other House one of the ablest and most accomplished members of that body, from the Southern State of Missouri. Sir, they are to pass over Southern lines. These sentiments and opinions cannot be hemmed in by lines of latitude or of longitude. They will yet be adopted by fairminded and honorable men everywhere, who love their country, who love justice and liberty; and whenever anybody shall raise the black flag of Slavery and disunion in the South, he will find, leaping from the ranks of the people, thousands of patriotic men who will stand by this Government and defend it.

The Senator from Mississippi tells us that the first troubles in Kansas grew out of the formation of the Emigrant Aid Society. That Society, he tells us, came from a secret Congressional organization. The Senator is mistaken in his facts. The secret Congressional circular to which he refers was issued in the summer days, after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The bill incorporating the Emigrant Aid Society was introduced into the Legislature of Massachusetts in March, 1854—more than sixty days before your Kansas-Nebraska act passed. It passed the Legislature of the State, and received the sanction of the Governor, in April—forty days before the Kansas-Nebraska act passed Congress. Instead of this secret circular being the father of the emigration movement, you might turn it around the other way, and say the emigration movement created this secret Congressional movement. The Senator is mistaken in this assertion. I commend him to the study of old facts.

The Senator dwells on the fact that the Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated with a capital of $5,000,000, only $20,000 of which could be used in the State. Does not the Senator know that the Emigrant Aid Society was never organized under that act at all? No organization under it took place, but the corporators went to the next Legislature, and got a new charter, with a capital of $1,000,000. That $1,000,000 of capital is mostly on paper. The company have a capital of $110,000 paid in, and it has been invested mostly in mills, churches, school-houses, and lands. They never, from the days of their organization to this hour, sent a man into the Territory of Kansas—not one; no sir, not one to vote. They have sent no arms into the Territory; theirs has been a mission of peaceful industry. I tell the Senator here now, that this company organized emigration; that it reduced the expenses of going there thirty or forty per cent.; and that is all it did. They have never asked whether a man was for or against Slavery. The first company that went to the Territory got there on the 5th day of August, 1854. It was a company of twenty-nine men, that started for the Territory under the auspices of Mr. Thayer, now a member of the House, and who originated the movement. During the autumn of 1854, a few hundred persons availed themselves of this organization to go to the Territory, as emigrants, to live there.

The Senator from Mississippi tells us much that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] charged that they committed misdeeds on going there. We denied it then. He did not prove it. Those who make charges of that kind against men are bound to prove those charges true. These men are presumed to be innocent until they are shown to be guilty. I say there is not evidence before this country that any man who went there under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society, ever perfected any illegal act on the way there, or in that Territory. They were as law-abiding, upright, conscientious men, as can be found in any part of New England, or of this country. They were the picked men of New England. Those emigrants who went under the auspices of that Emigrant Aid Society were nine-tenths of them people who remained at home. They were the intelligent, upright, law-abiding young men of Massachusetts and of New England. From those who went there to this moment, you can find no record, in or out of the Territory, that they have violated laws of the United States—that they have ever committed any offence, or ever been arrested or punished for any offence. They stand before the country as the sons of those old Pilgrim Fathers stood, who landed at Plymouth in 1620, and they are actuated by the same principles and purposes.

But the Senator from Mississippi would have us understand that those "irregularities," as he mildly designates the violence and frauds which transpired in that Territory in regard to the election of 1855, were brought on by these men. Does not the Senator from Mississippi know—if he does not he ought to know it—that the House of Representatives sent a commission to that Territory; that they thoroughly investigated the whole subject; that they examined the names of the two thousand nine hundred voters residing in the Territory; that they found how many of those men voted; that they saw on the poll-books the names of over four thousand men who went there from Missouri; that there is no mistake about these Missourians voting on the 30th of March, 1855; that this fact is as clear as mathematical demonstration? Senators may smile; but this fact has been proved, absolutely proved, and no man can deny it. Those men went there in the autumn of 1854, up to the day of election, on March 30th, 1855, there went into that Territory but one hundred and sixty-six men, women, and children, under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society. Ninety-seven of these were men, and thirty-seven only of all of them voted at that election. Thirty-seven men, under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society, voted on that day. From the time of the organization of that society up to this hour, no men have gone out under its auspices to vote. Those persons under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society went there as good, upright, grants, and not for the purpose of voting.

The Senator from Mississippi seems to think there was nothing very wrong in the election of the 30th of March. Why, sir, it has been proved that only fourteen hundred actual residents of the Territory voted, that over seven hundred of them voted for Free State men, and that the Free State men had a majority of sixteen out of eighteen districts of the actual voters. Even the town of Lawrence gave eight or nine hundred votes! They were cast mostly by the Slave State men who went there from Missouri. There were but two or three Slave State men in that city; one was the Postmaster; but he could not go for these crimes, and the Administration found it out, and turned him out of office. These facts stand on the record; they have been proved to the country. They were first denied, then apologized for. These frauds did take place, and they vitiated everything in the Territory from that time to this; they have been the prolific source of all the strifes which have marked the history of the Territory.

The Free State men, overborne by this invasion, felt that their rights had been taken from them, that they were outraged; they saw that a Government was organized which they had no part in, which was put upon them. Being thus under the ban—a Government that required a test oath. They saw a Government organized by fraud, and sustained by force; they saw they had no power; that they were as absolutely powerless as were the people of the tyrant of Naples. The doctrines of the fathers had taught them that the people were the source of power; that, in the language of Alexander Hamilton, "the streams of power came from the pure, original fountain of the people." They believed, with Mr. Jefferson, that the "majority had a right to depute delegates to a Convention, and to make a Constitution for themselves." They believed in your Kansas-Nebraska act, and I say now to the Senators that they believed it! They believed they were the only people in America who had any abiding faith in it; for it appears that the Senator from Mississippi, and most of his associates have none, and I do not know anybody on this side of the Chamber that has ever deceived about that act. They, by an act of original inherent sovereignty, called a Convention; they framed a Constitution; they had it endorsed; they have been denounced as rebels for that act; and they are denounced today, in the other House, for continuing, and keeping up the organization, so that if they were ever driven to it, they might use that organization to defend their lives, their liberty, and their property. They have never attempted to enforce one of those laws, and yet the Senator from Mississippi denounces their acts as rebellion! Rebellion! Why, sir, did Michigan rebel in 1836? Did not her people establish a Government? Did they not drive out, or rather turn out, by the expression of the popular will, the Governor appointed by Andrew Jackson? Did not Andrew Jackson sustain them? And did not James Buchanan, in this Chamber, defend them? Did he call it rebellion? Did not the people of the State of California formed a Constitution without authority. Were they rebels? Minnesota has framed a Constitution with your leave. She is framing laws under that Constitution, before her admission into the Union. Are her people rebels? This charge of rebellion against the Free State men of Kansas has no foundation in truth. It is a libel, a slander, come from what source it may.

The Senator tells us that the people ordered this Constitutional Convention. The first Legislature, chosen by the men from Missouri, passed a law that in October, 1856, the sense of the people should be taken. In October, 1856, a vote was taken, and about two thousand three hundred men voted on that question. On the day on which the vote was taken, laws were on the statute-book, requiring a test oath, an oath to support the hideous fugitive slave law; and no man of principle or honor would take that revolting and degrading oath, so none could vote. Do you suppose that liberty-loving, God-fearing men, would take that infamous oath? Then every ballot box was in the hands of men appointed by this Territorial Legislature. The people had been to the polls once, and they met an armed invasion; they were cheated, wronged, and defrauded. Laws had been passed, requiring this test oath to be taken, and taxes to be paid, and the voters were to be given into the hands of men who had cheated and robbed them of their rights. Of course, the people of the Territory did not vote. They would have been craven spirits if they had voted.

Then, Mr. President, the Legislature assembled, January, 1857, and they passed an act calling a Convention. If Senators will examine this act, they will find that it was intended to cut off the spring emigration into the Territory. They knew they had possession of the Government, and that they could control the Territory, and shape its future. They refused to provide for the submission of the Constitution to the people; and Governor Geary tells us that, when he said to these men, "I will sign this bill if you will submit the Constitution to the people," they said they would not submit it to the people, because, if they did not, it would secure Kansas as a slave State. Sir, this withholding the Constitution from the people is a part of the plan originally adopted to defraud the people, to baffle their will, and to force upon them a loathed and abhorred institution.

How, sir, was this Census? Who were to register the voters? The officials appointed under this Territorial bogus Legislature—yes, sir, bogus in every sense—were to take the census and register the voters. Governor Stanton and Governor Walker tell us that in nineteen counties no census was taken, and in fifteen counties no registry. How was it in Douglas county? There, by the aid of Henry Clay Pate, undertaking to get over the force of that charge. I have examined this paper, signed by Henry Clay Pate, and in eleven lines there are twelve deliberate lies, and in the book of the Territory shows it. Do not Senators know that in some of those counties there was a large population, that they gave more votes at the October election than were ever registered; that the enumeration was so defective, that the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention in June?

The Senator from Mississippi thinks this cannot be true, and he quotes the appeals of Governor Walker to them, to vote. But in the face of Governor Walker, here is the Senator's quotation of the first affairs of the Territory, against Governor Walker after he had spent Santa Fé, and went to Tarsus—he did not understand the affairs of that Territory. Mr. Stanton is frank enough in the admirable address he has just published to the people of the United States—an address marked by truth, by candor, and by everything that should win for him the respect of fair-minded men—to declare that when he went to that Territory he did not understand its affairs. The honorable Senator from Mississippi would display more fairness if he would quote to us the words of Governor Walker after he had become the familiar with the Territory had made him familiar with the condition of affairs. The time and conditions fixed upon by the Legislature were intended to cut off the population that would pour into the Territory from March to the third Monday of June. The machinery and the carrying into effect the whole arrangement were intended expressly to take possession of that Territory, and make it a slave State.

Mr. PUGH. Will the Senator allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. WILSON. Certainly.

Mr. PUGH. I understand the Senator complains that it was designed to cut off the spring emigration of that year. Am I right in that?

Mr. WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PUGH. Then we why does the Senator complain that the spring emigration of 1855 voted? It is as long as it is broad.

Mr. WILSON. I will state the difference. This act provided for taking the census; and I think it was to be closed in April. Then the names were to be placed in the hands of officials, who were to make up the registration. This was to be done early in May; a residence of six months was required, to entitle a man to vote. It cut off the thousands who were there as actual residents in March, April, May, and the first three weeks of June—men who went to cast their vote in that Territory. The four thousand nine hundred men who went over from Missouri in 1855, went back the next day; marched back with banners and music; they knew, as everybody knew, that they went over there for that invasion; whereas these men were actual settlers who had come from Ohio that settled in Kansas. There is the difference. I hope the Senator from Ohio sees it. I complain that the men who go there to live are cut off. I do not complain that the men who go there to vote should be cut off, whether they go from the North or the South.

The Senator from Mississippi quotes Governor Walker, as saying, on the 27th of July, that there was no danger of invasion from Missouri, and the people could vote. Here is another of the Senator's inaccurate statements. The people elected delegates on the third Monday in June, and this letter was written on the 27th of July. The Senator from Mississippi ought to be a little more accurate in his facts, and I commend him to the study of old speeches, to listen to old speeches with patience, until he is better posted in his facts. Gov. Walker in this letter has reference to the October election, to the Legislature under the Territorial law, and not the election of delegates to the Convention. The people voted in October. In their 9th of June Convention, before the Governor was elected, the people assembled in the largest Convention ever held in Kansas; they discussed the questions connected with the interests of the Territory for two days, and voted with only one exception to go into the October election. They agreed to elect their officers under the Topeka Constitution in the first week of August. They did elect officers under the Topeka Constitution, and they went into the Territorial election in October, and carried that election also.

But the Senator from Mississippi has great doubts about frauds. Does he not know that the people were nearly being cheated out of their Legislature? If Governor Walker had not assumed the responsibility of throwing out some fraudulent votes, the people, who triumphed by five thousand majority, would have been cheated out of the Legislature. The frauds at Kickapoo, at Oxford, and in McGee county, if allowed to pass uncorrected, would have lost them the Legislature. Governor Walker saw that these frauds were so great that he threw them out, and he did reject the McGee and the Oxford frauds.

Mr. FESSENDEN. He rejected them for informality.

Mr. WILSON. He rejected them, as the Senator from Maine suggests, for informality; but he went down to Oxford and found "six houses" and only a few people there. He found that over fifteen hundred fraudulent votes had been returned, and he threw out the returns.

In answer to a question of the Senator from New Hampshire, the Senator from Mississippi said there might be occasion to go behind the instrument, and investigate the frauds. Now, what are the charges? That there were frauds in the elections of the 21st of December and 4th of January, everybody knows. The Convention which framed the Lecompton Constitution was elected in June. It met, and adjourned to a period after the October election. When they saw that the Legislature of the Territory was taken possession of by the Free State men, they changed their tactics. It is true, as the Senator from Mississippi tells us, that meetings were got up, asking Calhoun and his associates not to submit the Constitution to the people. Calhoun and those men had pledged themselves to do it. On the demand of the President, on the promise of Governor Walker, and the declarations of the *Washington Union*, they had promised the people of Kansas that they would submit the Constitution to the people. They provided for its submission in such a way that Governor Walker could not correct frauds, as he had done in the case of Oxford and McGee county, and so that Calhoun could have the matter in his hands—a man who would practically permit the frauds, but, if necessary, make the frauds himself. He was just the man to do it; for God never allowed to walk the green earth any man who more richly deserves to die a traitor's death, and leave a traitor's name, than John Calhoun.

Mr. GREEN. Say it to his face.

Mr. WILSON. I have said it here, and it goes on the record. I have no fear of the tools of border ruffianism in Washington or in Kansas. I am able to take care of myself. I will try to do so, at any rate. Sir, this John Calhoun has cheated and defrauded the people of Kansas out of their rights. He has committed a crime against the liberties of the people, which will associate his name with tyranny and tyrants, while the history of Kansas shall be read and remembered by mankind.

The Senator from Mississippi justifies the refusal to submit the Constitution. Why, sir, it has been the policy in all the States to ascertain the popular will by submitting Constitutions to the people, to ascertain the popular will. These men knew that, if they submitted the Constitution to the people, it would be voted down, four or five to one. The President says they would have voted it down, because they did not like something in it, and the *Union* newspaper says the whole slavery question was unsettled, for the vote it would be unfair. What business was it to John Calhoun, or to that Convention, or to the President of the United States, whether the people of Kansas would vote down the Constitution or not? That was their business. It does not belong to the President or his Cabinet to pronounce on their business. It is an insult to a free people to talk to them in this language, whether it comes from the Executive mansion or that class of men who formed the Convention that assembled in Kansas.

The Senator repeats the declaration of the Executive, that the people had an opportunity to vote on the question of making Kansas a free or slave State. The vote was taken on that provision of the Constitution, whether Kansas should be a slave State, with the slave trade, or whether Kansas should be a slave State, without the slave trade. That was the whole of it. Kansas was to be a slave State anyhow. In order to make it a slave State, without the slave trade, the voter had to vote for the Constitution. No one could vote against it. It was one of the most stupendous insults to a free people, that a body of usurpers ever offered. They took their votes. They have returned six thousand and seven hundred votes at that election—thirteen hundred at that little township of Oxford. The town of Kickapoo gave nearly eleven hundred votes—a town that cannot have legally more than five hundred voters. Four or five towns make up three thousand fraudulent votes given on that day. No man, who knows anything of Kansas, believes that there were more than twenty-five hundred, at the utmost, legal votes given in Kansas on that Constitution. Sir, Secretary Stanton tells us, in his address to the American people, that enormous frauds have been perpetrated at the precincts of Oxford, Shawnee, and Kickapoo; and he may well be believed that this result was actually designed by the artful leaders, who devised the plan and framework of the Lecompton Constitution.

Sir, the Legislature have appointed commissioners to investigate the alleged frauds at Kickapoo and some other precincts. The evidence already taken before the commissioners proves beyond all question that enormous frauds have been perpetrated. John C. Vaughn, a gentleman not wholly unknown to the country, testifies that he went to the polls with Thomas Ewing, jr., son of the distinguished Ohio statesman. When he arrived at the polls, at a quarter past four o'clock, the officers informed him that "467 votes had been polled." "*Double voting*," he says, "*was barefaced, so barefaced that the judges inside and the bystanders outside could not help seeing it.*"

More than one thousand votes were returned by the officers, and this, too, in a place where the oldest residents testify before the commissioners that there were not over three hundred and fifty voters. Mr. Joseph Cornell, a Deputy United States Marshal, testifies that the polls were surrounded by some one hundred men and boys, armed with hickory clubs two and a half feet long"—that some of them threatened "to shoot the first man who challenged a voter"—that he went to Capt. Brown, and made in writing a demand for troops "to protect the polls"—"that he agreed to do it, but after holding a private conversation with Gen. Whitfield, he declined to do so"—that "Mr. Ewing took his dispatch to Gen. Harney, and Harney sent orders to Brown to obey his requisition," but he "returned the order to him, the election being over, and there being no further use for the troops." This U. S. Deputy Marshal testifies that he "saw one man vote three times within twenty minutes"—that "he went up to vote seven times"—that he challenged him three times, but he got in four times." He also testifies that he saw other votes two and three times. Mr. William W. Gallager testifies to seeing one man "hand in six tickets, one at a time, before he left the window."

The Cincinnati *Times* publishes a letter in regard to this investigation; and I wish to call the attention of Senators to it, especially the Senator from Missouri. The St. Louis *Democrat* makes an abstract of this correspondence:

"On the original poll book of the vote on the Constitution, December 21, 1857, which is now in the possession of the county recorder's office in Leavenworth, it was discovered that James Buchanan, President of the United States, voted in the one hundred and seventieth vote."

Mr. SEWARD. What day was that?

Mr. WILSON. On the 21st of December.

Mr. GREEN. For or against Slavery?

Mr. WILSON. "For the Constitution with Slavery," of course.

The Senator from Mississippi need not give himself no anxiety about what vote James Buchanan would give, in Kansas or out of it. I wish the President would go to Kansas. He has sent out his Governors there, and they went as men sent out of old, to curse the people, and they came back blessing the people. If the President could be there a few weeks, he would become a wiser and better man, instead of denouncing these people as rebels, I think he would come back and say that he had found a people loving liberty, law, and order, who had been oppressed by a class of his corrupt and unprincipled officials.

"Next on the list of distinguished names appears, as the two hundred and seventy-sixth voter, William H. Seward, of New York." [Laughter.]

They do not say how William H. Seward voted on that day, but we all know how William H. Seward would have voted, if he had been there.

"2034. Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky. 714th. G. W. Brown, editor *Herald of Freedom*. Then, 659th, John C. Fremont." [Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. How did he vote?

Mr. WILSON. The record does not state how any of these voted except Buchanan.

At the 4th of January election, Delaware Crossing gave, it is said, forty-three votes. These votes had not got in when Governor Denver, and Mr. Deitzler, and Mr. Babcock, counted the votes. It now turns out that the returns have come in from that Crossing, where forty-three votes were given, and the return of some three hundred and forty-nine for the slave ticket, and that ticket is elected by that vote—being eight Representatives from Leavenworth district, and three Senators, making a majority in the Senate and sixteen in the House, changing the whole political complexion of the State.

Sir, this infamous fraud, by which the people of Kansas were defrauded of their rights—by which the Pro-Slavery State and Legislative tickets have triumphed, is fixed, beyond all doubt, upon John Calhoun and his abhorred compeers. James C. Grinter and Isaac Munday, two of the judges, testify that forty-three votes were given—all Democratic votes—that is, all Pro-Slavery votes, for Democratic votes and Pro-Slavery votes are one and the same in Kansas, as they are getting to be all over the country. They testify that these votes were placed in a box, and delivered to John D. Henderson, to be delivered at Leavenworth, to Mr. Oliver Diefendorf, a commissioner appointed by John Calhoun, his brother-in-law. Henderson testifies that he left Delaware Crossing that night at eleven o'clock, and that he placed the box containing the votes in Diefendorf's hands about noon on the 5th. He testifies that "six days after he gave the returns to Diefendorf, he asked him if he had sent them to Calhoun, and he said he had." By this testimony of John D. Henderson, these returns were made to Calhoun before the 11th of January. On the 14th of January, the returns of the election of the 4th were counted at Lecompton. Governor Denver, and the President of the Council, and the Speaker of the House, were invited to be present. Henderson was then at Lawrence, a prisoner, charged with altering these returns. Colonel J. H. Noteware, recently from Chicago, now of Kansas, a gentleman with whom I travelled several days last May in the Territory, testifies that he went to Lecompton on the day the votes were counted; that before he left Lawrence, Henderson sent by him a message to Calhoun "not to count the votes until he could see him;" and that he requested him to ask Governor Denver "to urge Calhoun not to open the returns of that precinct until he had seen him." Although these returns were delivered to Diefendorf on the 5th of January, and he told Henderson before the 11th that he had delivered them to Calhoun, they were not counted on the 14th; and Calhoun then stated, says Colonel Noteware, that "they had not been received, and that he should hold the matter open until he heard from that precinct, before he declared the result of that county." Thus, by deception, falsehood, and by fraud, the people of Kansas have been defrauded, betrayed, and defrauded, by men who deserve a felon's doom.

The frauds in Kansas are patent to the whole country; nobody doubts them. There is not an intelligent man in America who doubts them. Secretary Stanton well says—and I commend his words to Senators, who raise doubts concerning these frauds—"The frauds committed are notorious; and, though dishonest persons may deny them, and fill the channels of public information with audacious misrepresentations to the contrary, they can be easily established beyond all controversy."

Sir, why is it, when these charges have gone over this country, when the proofs of some of the ablest and best men of his party, in this body and in the other House; against the whole of the press of his party, in the Northwest; against the intelligence that comes flashing over the wires and by mail, by presses, and by letters from the Territory—why is it that the President of the United States sends to Congress his message, misrepresenting, misstating the affairs in Kansas, and urging its prompt admission? Why is it that these Senators—honorable men—men who ought to scorn to do a meanness—also press it? Why is it that this is to be pressed, to be hurried through, and this act consummated, when we know that, on the 4th of January, twelve thousand men of that Territory voted against this Constitution, and that there were only six thousand votes cast for it on the 21st of December, of which three or four thousand were unquestionably fraudulent?

There is only one power on this continent which could thus control, direct, and guide men, and that is that gigantic slave power which holds this Administration in the hollow of its hand, which guides and directs the Democratic party, and the men who wield the Government of this country tremble, submit, and bow to its will. Senators talk about the dangers of the country. Great God! What are our dangers? The danger is, that there is such a power, a local, sectional power, that can control this Government, can ride over justice, ride over a wronged people, consummate glaring and outrageous frauds, and override and trample down the will of a brave and free people. That is the danger. The time has come when the freemen of this country, looking to liberty, to popular rights, to justice to all sections of the country, should overthrow this power, and trample it under their feet forever. The time has come when the people should rise in the majesty of conscious power, and hurl from office, and from places of influence, the men who thus bow to this tyranny.

Senators are anxious about the Union. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BAYARD] to-day thought it was in peril. Well, sir, I am not alarmed about it. I am in the Union; my State is in the Union; we intend to stay in it. If anybody wants to go out, Mexico and Central America, and the valley of the Amazon, are all open to emigration; let them start. I shall do nothing to keep them in the Union. I shall not hold them back, or mourn over their departure. But all this conflict comes not from me; it is an American soil, and a part of my country. I know men and every such man at all of his country in America, I will say to the whole the whole men.

Mr. GREEN spoke warmly in reply to Mr. Wilson.

Mr. WILSON. A very few words, Mr. President, in response to the Senator from Missouri. I say in advance, that threats, by word, tone, or gesture, from that Senator, have no terrors for me. Let him understand this once for all. He talks about charges made against the people of his State, and he says they are slanders. I have said nothing of his State or of his people, that is not true, unless they are supported by authority, they are slanders. I agree with the Senator. For myself, I have said nothing on this subject that is not on the records of this Government, where it will live forever—evidence taken under the solemnities of an oath, by a committee of the House of Representatives.

When, in January, 1856, knowing, as I did, many of the facts in the case of the invasion of the 30th of March, 1855, I brought them before the Senate, a Senator from Missouri [Mr. GEYER] assumed to question or deny them. It was not a man here who has attempted to disprove them from that time to this. When the proposition to raise the House committee was made, it was resisted. The committee raised, in spite of this resistance, repeated, after months of careful investigation, a large volume of records, proving that thousands of men had come from Missouri went into the Territory and voted on that day. It is a clear demonstration and as any mathematical problem is solid; and I appeal to a degree of assurance in any man to deny it, have no effect.

Bold, vehement, and reckless denials, will not avail the Senator from Missouri. There is the record—explain it, disprove it, if you can—but do not suppose that unsupported denials will do. Sir, I tell the Senator, here and now, that no man shall brand me as a calumniator when I refer to that record. I stand upon that unimpeached record of the fraud and violence of lawless ruffianism, and I tell the Senator that I shall not be intimidated by threats, here or elsewhere.

The Senator says, that when I referred to the investigation at Kickapoo, I knew that James Buchanan and William H. Seward did not vote in the Territory of Kansas. Of course I knew it. Why, sir, the Senator knew that the votes for Buchanan and Seward were not returned as cast on the 21st of December at Kickapoo. The Senator intimates that Black Republicans gave those votes. Sir, Black Republicans did not go there to vote; and the Senator ought to have known it. He did know it, and he was in the reasoning to suppose that Black Republicans had given in those names. The votes on that day were Pro-Slavery votes. Republicans were not there to vote.

Sir, the Senator denies all the accumulated evidences of fraud in Kansas. He saw no evidences of fraud in the documents before us. Are we to have no other evidence this country yet as to act as public men, than what we gather from the Executive documents? Sir, the tree of knowledge does not grow in the Executive garden. I wish it did; if it were so, we should not have such documents as we have before us. Our knowledge is not limited to documents furnished by Executive officers, furnished by Executive agents in that Territory. There is some little intelligence outside of the councils of the Executive and his tools in Kansas.

The Senator from Missouri objects to these declarations of frauds being made. Is it not admitted that frauds have taken place in Kansas? How is it in Oxford? Did not Governor Walker prove that fifteen hundred fraudulent votes were given there in October last?

Mr. PUGH. What is proved?

Mr. WILSON. That there were frauds at Oxford in the October election.

Mr. PUGH. How do you know it?

Mr. WILSON. Gov. Walker and Secretary Stanton examined the facts, and stated them to the country. The returns were thrown out as fraudulent. Is not this evidence conclusive? The public press states these frauds, and the people state the facts. That town gave sixteen hundred votes in October, and thirteen hundred on the 21st of December. I say the simple statement of the fact shows that there must be fraud. The Senator from Missouri knows it must be a fraud.

Mr. GREEN. I know exactly the contrary; and can give an explanation which will be satisfactory to the Senate.

Mr. WILSON. Will you do it now?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, I will. I will do it when you refer that subject to the committee of which I am a member.

Mr. WILSON. We will refer it to you, and I want you to give us the facts.

Mr. GREEN. I will do it.

Mr. WILSON. It is known that there are not over one hundred and thirty voters in the place. Governor Walker states that he found there "six houses and no tavern," and this little place gave fifteen hundred votes on the day of the election in October, although the inhabitants told Gov. Walker that only about fifty persons were at the meeting that day. The votes in October must have been written out, and so must have been the vote in December.

The Senator talks about our saying here that the people of Kansas do not want to come into the Union. We have never said so. I believe the people of Kansas, of all parties, desire to come into this Union. Sir, it is not a question of coming into the Union; it is a question of how they shall come in.

The Senator talks about the legal people, and he indulges in legal technicalities. I submit he has the color of law on his side. His Missouri men were over there and elected a Legislature; they took possession of the Government; they did pass laws, and they have been administered them from that time to this; the Pierce and Buchanan Administrations have upheld them; and all the wrongs of Kansas have been perpetrated under them. There is color of law, color of law on their side, it does not follow that it is right, and I am ready to say that it is right to submit. It is not demanded that we should be governed by forms and technicalities in considering this application for admission. What Kansas wants, what the country wants, what we demand here, is substantial justice. We are not to lose the substance by a too strict adherence to mere forms and legal technicalities.

The Senator indignantly denounces what he is pleased to call *imputations* on his constituents. Imputations have not been made by me. I make the positive and direct charge that Kansas was invaded by organized bands of men from Missouri, who perpetrated violence in Kansas, and am prepared at all times to prove that charge by testimony beyond denial. I make it here, and I will make it elsewhere. If I mistate in any particular, I want it to be proved. I want it to go to Kansas, and will let it go to Kansas. I will not let it go there, and I shall be most gladly correct it.

Mr. GREEN. It would be a little more appropriate, and a little more in conformity with the ordinary rules of right, for a man who makes a charge to sustain it, and not require his opponent to prove a negative.

Mr. WILSON. I agree to that, and I agree to the Senator's general declaration that a man who makes a charge without proof is a slanderer. I accept that declaration with all its consequences. What I have stated here to-day as matters of fact, I have the evidence to substantiate; and I tell him his general denials will not do. But, sir, I will detain the Senate no longer.

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